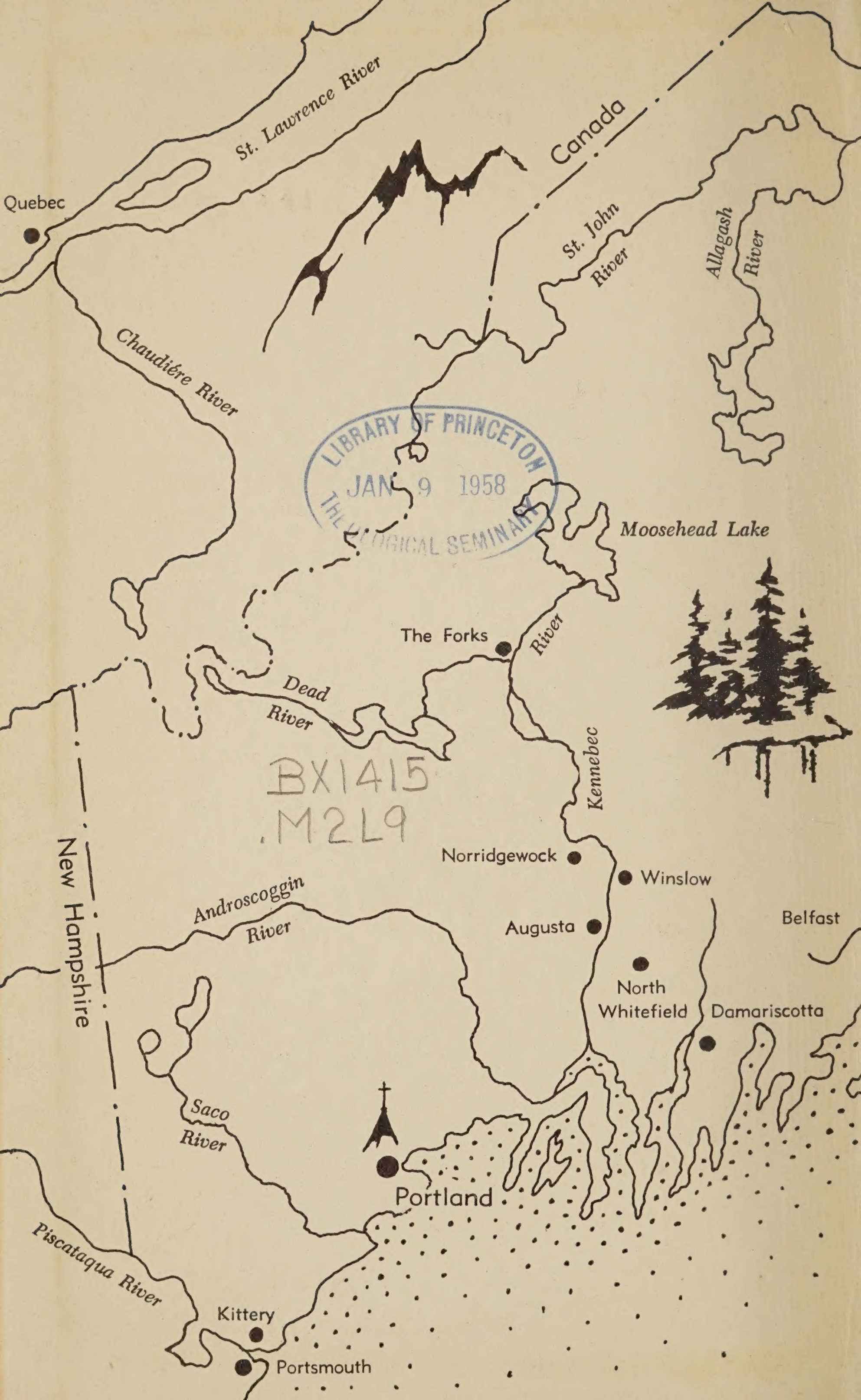
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MAINE

WILLIAM LEO LUCEY S.J.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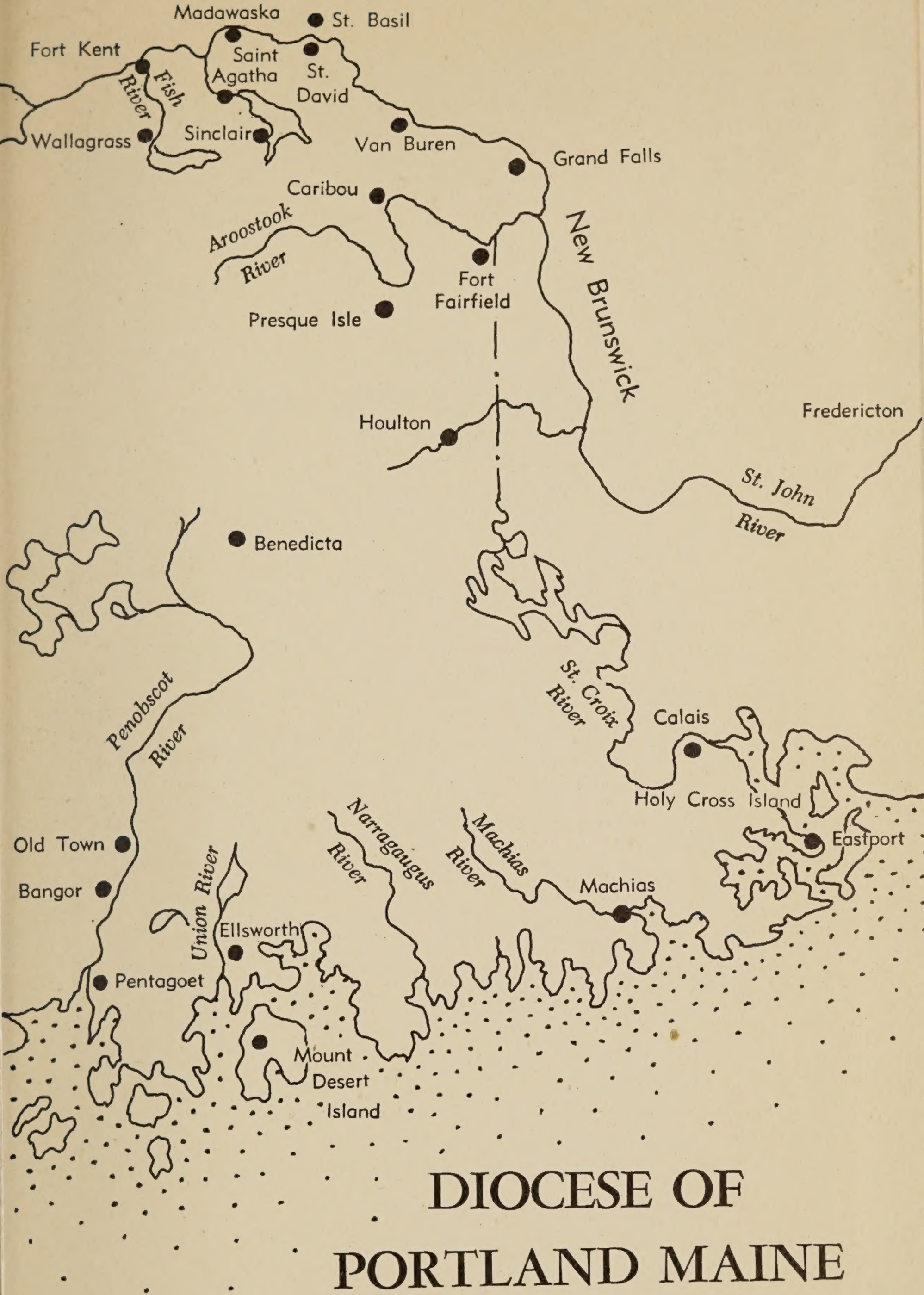
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DIOCESE OF PORTLAND MAINE

G. BRASSARD

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN MAINE

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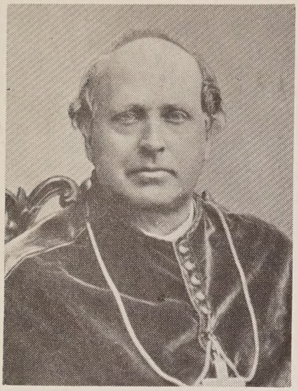

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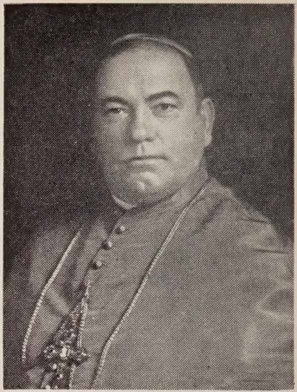

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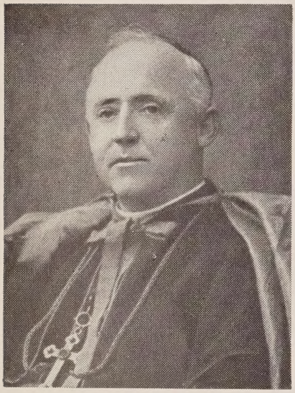

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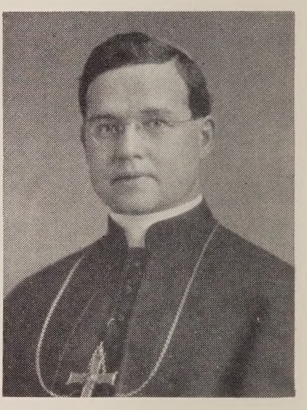

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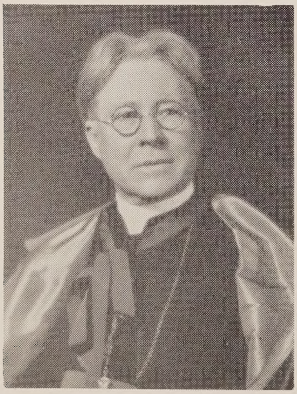

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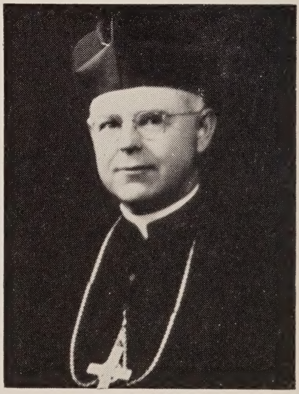

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MAINE

by

WILLIAM LEO LUCEY, S.J.

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TO THE MANY
PIONEER MEN AND WOMEN OF MAINE
whose contributions
to the diocese
will not be found in human chronicles,
but have been recorded by the angels.

PREFACE

THE OBSERVANCE of the centenary of the diocese of Portland was formally opened by a letter dated January 20, 1955 to the Catholics of Maine from Bishop Daniel J. Feeney. He told them that he hoped all would be acquainted before the year had passed with the marvellous growth of the diocese from humble beginnings to its present populous and flourishing condition. The Catholic history of Maine, he reminded them, "did not begin in 1855. Its roots go back to 1613." He appointed a Centenary Committee to arrange the details of the celebration and he named his Vicar-General, the Right Reverend George P. Johnson, S.T.D., general chairman of the committee.

As the first step in recalling the heritage of the Catholic Church in Maine, concise histories of the parishes were prepared and published in the diocesan weekly. Later, on the eve of the civic celebration in the Portland City Hall, a pictorial brochure, with a beautiful sketch of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception on the cover, was published as a supplement of the *Portland Sunday Telegram* of November 6, 1955. This ably edited publication reached thousands and went a long way in acquainting them with the Catholic Church in Maine. But the committee desired a more complete and permanent record of the diocese, and Monsignor Johnson approached me on the subject. This volume is the result.

I need not add that a complete history of the Catholic Church in Maine will not be found in this volume. One could not write that in a single book. The first task, then, was one of selection. I have selected and described what appeared to me and to others the salient features of Maine's Catholic history. Much has been omitted; some events and persons have been slighted. Even the salient features have not been accorded an equal treatment. Where others have written well and at length on events and persons, I have summarized and stressed the continuity; where the literature was scant and scattered, I have described at length as the sources and space permitted. I hoped thereby to fill in the gaps and lacunae in the history of the Church in Maine and to pay tribute to persons whose contributions to that history have not received as yet the recognition they warrant. This approach has resulted in some uneven chapters, but will, I hope, give the reader, especially the younger generation in Maine, a better understanding of their rich heritage. Readers who prefer footnotes with their reading will be disappointed; they have been reduced to a minimum. But a bibliographical note at the end of the volume indicates the sources used in each chapter.

This book would never have been completed without the help of many persons and the services of many libraries. It is a pleasure, then, to express my debt and thanks to the staffs of the Bangor Public Library, Boston Public Library, Cheverus High School Library, Creagh Research Library of St. John's Seminary, Dinand Library of Holy Cross College, Maine Historical Society, Portland Public Library and Woodstock College Archives. I am grateful to the many persons who have assisted me in so many ways: Bishop Daniel J. Feeney for his encouraging words and personal interviews; Monsignor George P. Johnson for his suggestions and the loan of material; Monsignor P. E. Desjardins for the use of notes gathered during many years; Monsignor Edward C. O'Leary and the Reverend Vincent A. Tatarczuk for their help in the use of the Portland Diocesan Archives; Monsignor Clarence Coughlan and Judge Francis W. Sullivan who kindly found time for personal interviews; Joseph Ward of Portland, James F. Bresnahan, S.J., of Cheverus High School, and Jean Simonds of the staff of the Boston Athenaeum whose researches were so helpful; James J. Hennesey, S.J., who arranged for the photostating of the letters of John Bapst, S.J., in the Maryland Province Archives at Woodstock College; Gerald Brassard, A.A., of Assumption College, who has so ably provided the readers with a map to follow the journeys of missionaries and bishops, of priests and pioneers. I am deeply in debt to Brendon C. McNally, S.J., and Maurice F. Reidy, S.J., my colleagues in the Department of History and Political Science, who read the manuscript and whose suggestions have been invaluable.

It would be ungrateful of me if I did not express my gratitude to the community of St. Ignatius Residence in Portland for the many kindnesses extended while engaged in research on this volume.

William L. Lucey, S.J.
Dinand Library
Holy Cross College

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FOREWORD

DURING THE year 1955, the diocese of Portland celebrated the first one hundred years of its existence. The centenary was appropriately observed through the entire year in the schools, academies and colleges of the diocese, as well as by programs of historic theme in the parishes and as part of the programs of the regular and annual meetings of our lay societies. A quickened interest was aroused and it was a matter of astonishment to thousands of Catholics to learn that the Catholic Church in Maine had had an almost continuous history of three hundred and fifty years. Those now well advanced in age easily remember that during the years of his service as Bishop of Portland, the late Bishop Louis S. Walsh (1906-1924) was indefatigable in his zeal to encourage historic research into the life of the Church in Maine. Under Bishop Walsh the study of Maine Catholic history was a must for the clergy, religious and schools of the diocese. With his death, interest flagged, but his work and the researches of those who shared it endure in the preserved volumes of the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* which he founded as the organ of publication for our Catholic history.

Our centenary awakened us to the truly glorious and edifying history that has been ours. The diocese of Portland is one of the few dioceses in the United States that shares the distinction of witnessing within its limits the efforts of the Church to bring Christ to a barbarous people long before the Europeans were numerous enough by immigration to require the foundation of the diocese of Portland. The missionary activities of the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the diocesan clergy of Quebec laid the basis of a faith that still endures and is practised on three Indian reservations in this diocese.

The gradual advent into Maine of the immigrants from Canada and Europe in the early and mid-nineteenth century, and then the waves of immigrants in the latter years of the same century, taxed the zeal and ingenuity of the woefully inadequate clergy to care for their spiritual needs. Our forbears in the faith experienced the same travail that afflicted our brethren elsewhere in this new land of the free – suspicion, misunderstanding, hate, legal and illegal persecution, bodily suffering and destruction of their religious properties. Happily those days and their events are far behind us. They were but the logical conclusion of what honest historians today regard as a conspiracy against historic truth that spanned the years between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. We can afford to forget them with relief.

That the salient records of the past might be preserved for easy access in one volume, the Reverend William L. Lucey, S.J., librarian of the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, and an historian in his own right, was invited to devote his talents and acumen as an historian to a study of Maine Catholic history. This volume is the fruit of his laborious research. It was not conceived to be a detailed recitation of events to cover local parochial and institutional growth over the years, but rather as a broad adaptation of the Church's life in general as affected by the eras and circumstances in which over three hundred and fifty years she found herself. I believe that Father Lucey has succeeded admirably. I am happy to recommend his readable volume, *The Catholic Church in Maine,* to all who are interested in the ever continuing spread of the kingdom of God on earth.

✠ DANIEL J. FEENEY
Bishop of Portland

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MAINE

1

CATHOLIC MEMORIES FROM THE COLONIAL PERIOD

MAINE IS the only New England state with a Catholic history rooted deep in the colonial period. Her forests, seacoasts and rivers from the St. Croix to the Saco are filled with memories of Franciscans, Capuchins, Jesuits, priests of the Foreign Missions, and priests of the diocese of Quebec, ministering to the spiritual needs of the Abenaki Indians and French traders and with reminders of the remarkable fidelity of Indians to the doctrines of Christianity taught them with great patience and many sacrifices by these missionaries. These memories were frequently recalled by David W. Bacon, the first Bishop of Portland, and the pioneer Catholics of Maine as they faced the task of organizing a diocese, and they were heartened by them. The labors of these missionaries have not lost their power to inspire, and some of them are recalled in this chapter as a preface to the history of the diocese of Portland.

1. THE CRADLE: HOLY CROSS ISLAND AND ST. SAUVEUR

Late in the month of May, 1613 the first French Jesuit mission in North America was hastily founded on Mount Desert. This was not the intended site of the mission and its origins and end were unhappy, but on this beautiful island off the coast of Maine the Catholic faith in New England was cradled.

For its start we must go back to the first French settlement in New England, to the colony founded by Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, a Calvinist, who had received in 1603 the the right to colonize Acadia, a vague and indefinite grant that covered nearly half of North America. With Samuel de Champlain as his navigator, he sailed from Havre de Grace with his colonists in the spring of 1604, and from the many sites at his disposal he selected "with singular infelicity," as Francis Parkman comments, a small island near the mouth of the St. Croix River. The island, named St. Croix by the pioneers but now known as Holy Cross or Dochet's, had little to recommend itself, but there they disembarked and established what was the first European colony in New England.

It was a mercantile venture and not a mission to the Indians, although Henry IV had insisted that the conversion of the Indians be a primary objective of the French colonies in America. Hence, there were both priests and ministers in the colony and a chapel was among the buildings constructed. This was not a situation that promoted harmony. The colony survived only the bitter winter of 1604-1605, and many of the colonists did not survive that long, for when spring had arrived thirty-five of the original seventy-nine had died and those alive, with the exception of the dauntless Champlain, were ready to abandon the colony. So they moved across the Bay of Fundy to Port Royal. But here on Holy Cross Island, site of French civilization in North America, Father Nicholas Aubry, a victim, it would seem, of the severe winter, offered the first Mass on New England soil.

French colonial activities continued at Port Royal, and Baron de Poutrincourt, one of de Monts' companions, asked and received from the ambitious empire builder the right to colonize Port Royal. Before long two Jesuits, Peter Biard and Enemond Masse, were assigned to work among the Indians there. To get passage, however, was not easy, for neither Poutrincourt, a Catholic, nor the interested Calvinist merchants, wanted them. Appointed in 1608, the two did not arrive until 1611, after a friend at the court, Madame de Guerchville, acquired shares in the company and provided passage for them. Before or shortly after their arrival, the only priest in the colony, Father Jesse Fleuche, returned to France. But difficulties between Poutrincourt and his son Biencourt and the two Jesuits continued. Out of these difficulties came the decision to found a mission for the Indians free from the conflicts with mercantile interests.

During the summer and fall of 1611 Biard joined Biencourt in exploring the coasts of Maine, visiting on two trips the stretch from the St. John to the Kennebec. He ascended the Penobscot as far as Bangor, and decided that this was the site for the future mission. He offered Mass, he tells us on one of the islands near the mouth of the Kennebec after the initial distrust of the Indians had been overcome, a distrust of the white man that derived from their first contacts with the English, George Weymouth in 1605 and the colony under Popham and Gilbert in 1607-1608. Weymouth, by kidnapping five Indians to exhibit to Sir Ferdinand Gorges in London, had implanted a suspicion and fear in the minds of the Indians whose memories were tenacious. The Popham colony was the first to feel the suspicion, for the colonists got little aid from the Indians during the severe winter of 1607-1608 that compelled them, like the de Monts colony, to abandon their site. An unmistakable coolness awaited Biard and Biencourt, too, as they approached the Kennebec Indians. At anchorage for the night near Bath, Indians and crew spent part of the night shouting at each other until the crew changed to the *Salve* and other hymns. It was not exactly a sacred concert, but the Indians did hear for the first time some beautiful Christian hymns, although, in a fashion typical of the old school of New England writers, we are told they sang and shouted "at their superstitious priest's request, as a pious shield against the baleful influence of the supposed incantations" of the savages. At least, the Indians preferred a songfest to kidnapping and before the ship departed some nearby spot had been hallowed by the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

Plans for a mission developed during the next year. Brother Gilbert Du Thet, S.J., was in charge of details, and the ship under the command of Captain Charles Fleury left Honfleur, France on March 13, 1613. There were about forty-eight on board, counting crew, colonists, the future commander of the colony, Pierre La Saussaye, and another Jesuit, Father Jacques Quentin. They had little space to themselves, for also on board were some horses, goats, and other supplies. At Port Royal they were joined by Biard and Masse, and without delay they sailed for the Penobscot. But as so frequently happened with the early colonial projects they never reached their intended destination.

A heavy fog engulfed them, the ship strayed and finally had to heave to until the fog lifted. They found themselves off an island which they named St. Sauveur, but which is known to generations of Americans as Mount Desert. They landed and before long decided to stay. What changed their plans is not clear. The crew was quarrelling about the terms of their contract, and on these early journeys the crews frequently decided the site of a colony; the Indians were friendly and wanted the missionaries to stay; and besides, Mount Desert is a tempting place in the summer time. Yet the decision was not a timely one. It was near the end of May when they landed, and the original site was soon exchanged for another, what is now Fernald's Point. All were soon busy with building shelters for themselves and the live stock, except Fleury who decided, in typical French independence of mind, that it was wiser to provide food for the winter and so turned gardener. With the Indians friendly and favorable to conversion, the prospects were bright. Unfortunately, the prospects were never realized.

For the end of the mission we must go to Virginia where Samuel Argall had been appointed Admiral of Virginia and instructed to prevent the French from gaining a foothold within the limits of the colony. He knew, of course, of the French activity in Acadia and probably had heard of the projected Jesuit mission. In the summer of 1613 Argall was busy with preparations for a strange journey for an admiral. He was planning to fish cod up north, and the preparations were stranger still,—a ship armed with fourteen guns and manned with sixty musketeers. Before the mission of St. Sauveur was two months old, Argall's ship appeared off shore, and since it was peace time and the little French colony had no means to fight (their ship had one cannon that fired with difficulty), Argall quickly subdued them. He also managed to discover and secrete the commission to colonize held by La Saussaye, and then accused the French of an unwarranted attempt to colonize and of intruding on English soil.

His disposition of his prisoners was at least unique. One group, with Father Masse one of them, was given a boat and the open sea. Fortunately, with the aid of friendly Indians and with courage from Mass when it could be offered, they managed to reach a French trading vessel that returned them to France. Biard and Quentin and the others were taken to Virginia where only Argall's confession that he had stolen and concealed the commission saved them from the death threatened by the governor, Sir Thomas Dale. The two Jesuits also got back to France safely after many harrowing experiences. Brother Du Thet remained on Mount Desert, killed in the defense of the mission.

Thus ended the first Jesuit settlement in New England, ruined, as Parkman describes it, by "an obscure stroke of lawless violence." That act of violence marked the beginning of the century and half of wars and contentions between the English and French for the control of North America. The mission was a failure, but failures are frequently preludes to great events. The Christian faith had been planted in the hearts of the Maine Indians and from that hour their loyalty to the faith and to the Blackrobe remains one of the remarkable achievements in the annals of the missions.

2. CASTINE

A missionary's life in Maine during the colonial period was never dull. One never knew whether an approaching sail was bringing friend or foe. Frequently it was the latter. Part of Maine, exactly what part was never decided, came under the region known as Acadia, and from 1604, when the first French colony was established, until the final victory in favor of England in 1763, Acadia was exchanged nine times between the English and the French. News of the beginning of a war and of the treaty concluding it usually reached the mission with the appearance of a hostile ship to take the post or of a friendly ship to recover it. Missionary work among the Indians in Maine, accordingly, lacked continuity.

After the wanton destruction of St. Sauveur in 1613, there was no renewal of missionary activity in Maine until 1619, when, at the invitation of two trading companies, one interested in fishing and the other in furs, the Franciscan Recollects came to Acadia. They established missionary centers at Port Royal, at Miscou, and on the St. John River; this latter was their major post, and from there they ministered to the Indians of northern Maine. Only scant information of their work has survived, but they did have a chapel on the St. John, and we know from Champlain's reports that they were still there in 1630. But a war (1627-1632) interrupted and finally ended their missions. During this war the Pilgrims of Plymouth extended their trading posts from Augusta on the Kennebec to Castine in 1629, and to Machias, two years later. But when, by the treaty of St. Germain (March 29, 1632), Acadia was restored to France, Cardinal Richelieu, as Prime Minister, reorganized both the colonial and missionary policies of New France. To the Capuchins and to the Jesuits was given the onus of converting the Indians. Acadia, including Maine as far as the Kennebec, was assigned to the Capuchins. Henceforth there would be no confusion among the Indians from contentions between French priest and minister over Christian doctrine. But the missionary still had to contend with traders more concerned about pelts than the promotion of the Christian faith.

The Capuchins established a mission at Castine (Pentagoet) in 1635, and of their seven permanent missions this was their only one in Maine. This site on the peninsula that juts into beautiful Penobscot Bay was a natural trading center and made fine quarters for contacts with the Indians on the Maine rivers. Here the Capuchins built a chapel, the third on New England soil. Later they constructed a more substantial church and called it Our Lady of Holy Hope; the cornerstone was laid June 8, 1648. Unfortunately another war ruined their plans. In 1654 Castine was captured by the English and it remained under their control until 1667, when, again, by the treaty of Breda, Acadia was restored to France. The return of the English naturally ended the work of the Capuchins in Maine and Acadia where, during the brief quarter of a century (1632-1655), about forty members of their Order had labored.

It was after the treaty of Breda that the man who gave Pentagoet its permanent name of Castine arrived: John Vincent d'Abbadie, Baron of Saint-Castin. He came to Canada as a young man with the famous regiment of Carignan-Salieres and when, the war over, the regiment was disbanded, he decided to seek his fortune in the new world, moved to Acadia, and finally established himself at Pentagoet. A number of priests, starting with Father Lawrence Molin, a Franciscan, cared for the traders and the Indians until 1703 when the post was finally abandoned by the French. The Baron became a friend of the Indians, and one of his contributions to their welfare was a chapel built on Indian Island in the Penobscot.

It was named in honor of St. Ann, and the succession of chapels and churches on this island have retained to this day that name.

3. NORRIDGEWOCK AND THE KENNEBEC

In the spring of 1646 an old missionary was dying in the church of Sillery, the village a few miles above Quebec founded in 1636 for the Christian Indians. News of this Indian haven reached the Kennebec and some of the curious found their way there to investigate for themselves. The reports they brought back were complimentary. No doubt the reports mentioned the old missionary who had tales about the old mission of St. Sauveur. The tales were true, too, for the old missionary was Enemond Masse, co-founder of St. Sauveur. Since that sad day when he was forced into a boat in the open sea, he had returned to Quebec to renew his labors among the Indians only to be exiled back to his native land when Quebec was captured in 1629. But he returned again in 1632 and since then had completed a full life on the missions. He was now old (72 years) and tired. He died May 12, 1646, three months before delegates from the Kennebec Indians arrived to ask for a Blackrobe to live with them. Their request was granted. Father Gabriel Druillettes returned with them to establish the second Jesuit mission among the Maine Indians.

The future of the Maine Indians was settled on the Kennebec, the decisive battleground, as far as the Indians were concerned, in the struggle between the Puritans and New France for the control of Acadia. They decided their own future when they elected to be Christians under the guidance of French missionaries, for that decision naturally linked them with France in the emerging conflict; it was settled when their village at Norridgewock was destroyed and their priest, Father Rasle, murdered in 1724. After that they had little to look forward to beyond the ever narrowing confines of reservations under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and Maine.

The events of these four scores of years center around two Jesuits, Gabriel Druillettes and Sebastian Rasle. Happily we have many primary sources and much literature about these two priests and their works, and one will search the annals of our Indian missions in vain to discover two more interesting persons.

Druillettes was by any standard a highly talented man with considerable charm. The extent of his charm can be measured by his visit to Boston where he was granted facilities to say Mass and his visit to Plymouth where Governor Bradford ordered fish to be served because it was Friday. Both Boston and Plymouth had to receive him, for he came under the protection of diplomatic immunity. But diplomatic usage did not demand such courtesies to one who was, in the words of the Puritans, an agent of Antichrist. This visit would rightly be labelled a charming fantasy were not the records establishing the facts beyond dispute. One can find the explanation of what happened only in the captivating personality of this Frenchman who was so happily baptized Gabriel.

Druillettes left Sillery with the Indians on August 26, 1646 and this trip alone would have sufficed to place him in our history books among America's pathfinders, for he became the first white man to travel from the St. Lawrence via the Chaudiere and Kennebec rivers to the Atlantic. Benedict Arnold followed the route in reverse in his invasion of Canada during the War for Independence. On this trip the Jesuit stopped at Norridgewock and the other Indian villages along the river, paused at Augusta where the Pilgrims had a trading post to make the acquaintance of the Plymouth agent, John Wilson, a man with "a very kindly disposition," to use Druillettes' words. The acquaintance led to friendship strengthened by the bonds of mutual Christian concern for the welfare of the Indians. He then proceeded down the river, reached the Atlantic, and turned up the coast to pay a visit to the Capuchins at Castine. The Kennebec was part of their mission. Returning to Augusta, he established his first mission a few miles beyond the trading post where the Indians had gathered. That a French Jesuit and an agent of the Pilgrims could live in peace is a great tribute to these two men. How different the history of the Maine Indians would have been if it had endured.

Druillettes remained with his Abenakis until the spring of the following year, joining them in their hunts as far as Moosehead Lake, and then they brought him back to Sillery in June apparently none the worse from the experience. He was now their patriarch. His influence during this brief time on the Indians has elicited admiration from Parkman whose honest mind recognized greatness and virtues even though the supernatural and the order of grace were beyond his grasp. He marvelled that Druillettes could persuade these savages of yesterday to accept the idea of Christian forgiveness and the obligation to pray even for their deadly enemy: the Iroquois.

Druillettes did not return to the Kennebec until 1650. This was, as we have noted, within the field assigned to the Capuchins and although he had received a warm welcome on his Castine visit, evidently they did not expect the Jesuits to establish a permanent mission there. At least, the Jesuit superior declined to send him back with the Abenakis when they returned in 1647 and again in the next two years to get their Blackrobe. But the decision was reversed in 1650, when the Capuchins added their request to that of the Indians. Yet the mission to Boston and Plymouth may have been the deciding motive for the reversal. He was commissioned by the Quebec authorities to seek an alliance with southern New England colonies against the Iroquois who were bent on destroying the Algonquins, an Indian family that included the Abenakis of Maine. In return for the military aid, free trade with New France was offered.

Druillettes' two trips, in 1650 to Boston and Plymouth and to New Haven in the following year, have been frequently described. The diplomatic missions were a failure. It was too much to expect the New England colonies to risk warfare to save Indians. With few exceptions (John Winslow and John Eliot), the Puritans had no concern for the Indians,—a heathen people whose land the Lord God had given to them for a rightful possession, as Cotton Mather phrased it. In fact, when Druillettes arrived, the neighboring Indians were becoming an encumbrance, having lost their economic value to the Puritans; they had passed on their knowledge of native foods and food raising, and the fur trade, where the Indian was a necessity, was declining in favor of fishing. Besides, these colonies had found it difficult to unite among themselves on grounds more common than the protection of the Abenakis. United action did not come until they were faced with their own local Indian problem, and then in the King Philip's War (1675-1677), they confederated to exterminate the southern New England Indians.

Yet the failure of the diplomatic missions does not detract from this amazing adventure. On the Jesuit's first trip he was welcomed by his Indians along the Kennebec, was greeted again by Winslow who, at great inconvenience, accompanied the priest-diplomat to the mouth of the river where he boarded a boat for Boston. In Boston, Winslow's employer, Edward Gibbons, provided him with a room and key for his own privacy where he could and, no doubt, did offer Mass. He talked with the younger Winthrop and Eliot in Boston, Bradford in Plymouth, and with Endicott at Salem on his return. He was at home wherever he went, except with English proper names which gave him, a good linguist, no little difficulty. Cape Ann became Kepane, Gibbons sounded like Gebin to him, and Roxbury like Rosqbray.

Druillettes returned to the Kennebec in January, 1651. The hard glances that had been thrown at him in the company of Winslow had somehow turned to smiles when he reached the mouth of the river. He spent the winter with his Indians, establishing Norridgewock as the center of the mission. He was back in Quebec in the spring to make his report, and in June was again commissioned to consult with the New England colonies at New Haven. At New Haven, however, the French proposal was rejected.

But his work among the Kennebec Indians was no failure. On his return from New Haven he spent the winter and spring with them before returning to Quebec. It is doubtful that he returned to Norridgewock again. The rule of Cromwell interfered with work among the Maine Indians and Acadia was under the control of the English from 1654 to 1667. And King Philip's War took place during the last two years of this period, a war that gravely affected the Maine Indians although they were not directly involved. Brief though his days with the Abenaki Indians were, he had managed to plant the faith deep in their souls. That was a miracle of grace.

4. SEBASTIAN RASLE

Sebastian Rasle arrived at Norridgewock in 1694. He was thirty-six years old and had been in New France four years; two of these four had been spent with the Abenaki Indians mastering their language and making a start on his dictionary that would eventually be housed at Harvard University and the other two years were with the Indians on the Illinois River. By the time he arrived on the Kennebec he had mastered several Indian dialects and was, we have been told, as fluent in them as in French and Latin. That would make him highly proficient, for he boasted, to the irritation of the Puritans, about his Latin ability.

His facility in dialects was needed on his mission, for much had changed on the Kennebec since Druillettes' last visit. A new tribe, from the upper reaches of the river, had moved to the old mission grounds. The Iroquois, fiercely pressing their old enemy eastward, and King Philip's War had brought about the change. There was extensive fighting with the Maine Indians during the war (1675-1677) and they had been rather decisively defeated. And the fighting, usually scattered Indian attacks on a farm or a village, had made the Indians the bitter enemies of the Puritans on the expanding Maine frontier. The chapel built by Druillettes had been destroyed, and the Kennebec Indians, pressed by the Iroquois from the west and the Puritans from below, had moved towards Canada. About 1680, Jacques and Vincent Bigot, brothers and Jesuits, were assigned to care for them at Sillery and at a new village (1683) on the Chaudiere River which Druillettes had travelled on his first trip to the Kennebec. But the situation had sadly changed since that trip. There was no John Winslow waiting with a welcome for Sebastian Rasle. A new chapter starts with Rasle's arrival on the Kennebec. It is the last chapter, and it is a sad one.

Rasle arrived at Norridgewock at an unfavorable time and an atmosphere of uncertainty hovered over the Indian mission to the very end. France and England were at war when he came, and after a brief interval of peace it was renewed in 1705. Even treaties of peace, like that of Ryswick (1697) when Acadia was ceded to France and Utrecht (1713) when Acadia was ceded to England, brought no comfort to the Indians. Acadia was never defined, and the land between the Kennebec and the St. Croix remained disputed territory. Actually, by this time, possession (Indians excluded) was the determining factor, and the tide was running in favor of the Puritans of Massachusetts who were determined to possess Maine. As Jonathan Greenleaf, Maine's pioneer church historian quaintly states: "In 1652, the government of the whole Province of Maine was assumed by Massachusetts." Anyone who supported the cause of the Indians had to expect opposition from Massachusetts; if the person was a priest, hatred was added to the opposition. Yet the Indians' title to the land and their right to possess it in peace and with the missionary of their choice were, and still remain, undisputed particulars in this sad chapter.

Rasle spent nearly thirty busy years at Norridgewock, a village that was only a two days journey from the nearest English post. By a daily routine that demanded heroism he fashioned a Christian village there. On Sundays and holy days he preached a sermon, and seldom did a week pass without a brief exhortation of some aspect of Christian living. He remained in his cabin mornings, after Mass, to listen to the troubles of the Indians, advising and settling quarrels; afternoons were spent calling on the sick and needy in their cabins. He prepared his own food, for he could not adjust to Indian cooking. He composed prayers which they chanted during Mass; he organized a choir among the young. He went along with the Indians on their hunting and fishing trips, following as closely as possible the daily routine of the village. And he kept working on his dictionary. They were a zealous group of Christians, devoted to the Catholic religion, and they were, as Rasle remarks,

> convinced that if they gave themselves up to the English, they would very soon find themselves without a missionary, without sacrifice, without a sacrament, and nearly without any exercise of religion, and that little by little they would be plunged into their first infidelity.

Rasle was determined that this would not happen and he decided to remain with them. The authorities of Massachusetts were determined to drive him from the village. From the start they had, as Greenleaf observes, "viewed him with a jealous eye."

Three attempts were made to dislodge him. In 1705, at the start of the next war between the French and English, the village was raided; they found the village deserted and left it destroyed. The Indians returned and rebuilt it. In 1722, it was raided and destroyed again. It was on this raid that Rasle's dictionary was looted, along with his strong box. The third expedition came two years later, during August. Strangely, it caught the Indians by surprise. Although orders had been given to capture Rasle alive, he was killed by one of the militia who claimed Rasle offered resistance to capture. Rasle's scalp was among the twenty-seven that were brought back to Boston. It was not Boston's best hour.

This violent death was not unexpected. A few years prior to his death he had written to his nephew in France:

> These beginnings of misunderstandings fail not to alarm me, & make me fear the dispersion of the flock, which Providence has confided to my care so many years & for which I would willingly sacrifice that which remains of my life.

But his death did not save the Indians.

New England writers have been harsh on Rasle even in death. But their treatment of the Indians can not be defended, and one can understand Rasle and his great work only by understanding the Indians. This John Francis Sprague has succeeded in doing in his small volume called *Sebastian Rasle a Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1906). Sprague has succeeded because he has approached the tragedy from the Kennebec and not from Boston, with an understanding of the Maine Indians who were a peaceful tribe with a remarkable love for children and entitled to live with their missionary of their own choice on the Kennebec, and with an admiration for a man who made great sacrifices to protect those Indians.[1]

If John Eliot had been at Norridgewock in place of Sebastian Rasle, if he had labored thirty years to make good Christians of these savages and had succeeded in doing so, if he had refused to abandon his post and his Indians on orders from French officials, if a price had been placed on his head for failure to move, if his village had been destoyed twice by French soldiers and he himself killed by one of them in a third raid, would there be any doubt in New Englanders' mind about the greatness of Eliot? I think we can safely say there would not be. He would have been remembered with great admiration, and rightly so. Hence, it is quite confusing to discover at this late date that the Puritans were "subjectively" justified in considering Rasle "an incendiary" because he opposed their plans.

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[1] Surely this is a much sounder approach to an understanding of Rasle than Indian gossip gathered two centuries after the event on the steps of a Maine general store, an approach used by Fannie H. Eckstrom in her article "The Attack on Norridgewock, 1724," in the *New England Quarterly*, VII (September, 1934).

Jonathan Greenleaf who has sketched for us the origins and status of the churches in Maine when the District became a State honestly recognized the worth of the man and his judgment makes an apt conclusion to this section on Rasle. Noting that the English have blamed the Jesuit for the troubles on the Kennebec, he adds:

> Let this be as it may, the fact of his having devoted his superior talents to the instruction of the rude children of the wilderness; consenting to spend his days in the depths of the forests, in unrepenting conformity to savage customs, and modes of life; enduring such privations, hardships, and fatigues as he did by night and day in the discharge of his mission, proves him to have been a very superior man, and well entitled to the admiration of all.

2

LAYING THE FOUNDATION: 1783-1818

WITH considerable reluctance, a reluctance bolstered by a group in the District who preferred Boston as a state capital, Massachusetts granted Maine permission to seek admission to the Union on June 19, 1819. Then a convention was called to frame a constitution which was approved by Congress and in 1820 Maine was admitted to the Union. People, both contemporaries and later generations, would want to know the status of this eastern frontier state at this transitional period, and so Maine's pioneer church historian, Jonathan Greenleaf, busied himself collecting data and statistics on the religious groups for his *Sketches of the Ecclesiastical History of the State of Maine* (1821).

For some of the churches he had to depend on friends and acquaintances to supply him with information or to check on what he had gathered. For his chapter on the Roman Catholics he relied on Edward Kavanagh, a young man but, as we shall see, a reliable source. Scarcely five pages (chapter twenty-four) in the small volume were needed to tell the story of the Catholics in Maine in 1821. "Four meetings," Greenleaf tells us, "of the denomination are held in Maine; two among the remains of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians, one at New Castle, and one at Whitefield, in Lincoln County." This is not quite correct, as Edward Kavanagh would discover in 1831 when he and John G. Deane were commissioned to investigate and report on the people living along the banks of the St. John River. They discovered a goodly number of French Catholics living in this area on land disputed between the United States and Great Britain since the peace treaty of 1783 but stoutly claimed by Maine as part of her domain. Eventually, in 1842 and again with the help of Kavanagh, the St. John River became the international boundary and all those living on the south shore of the river down to Hamlin were on American soil. The omission of the Acadians in the Madawaska district by Greenleaf (and by Kavanagh) is easily explained. Little was known about them until Kavanagh and Deane made their study in 1831. But when Maine started her history as a state there were three centers of Catholic life: the Indians, now reduced to about 750 in number, 350 of them on Indian Island, near Oldtown, and the others at Pleasant Point, near Eastport; the Acadians living in the Madawaska district in northern Maine; and a group of Irish immigrants, totalling about 108 families, living in and around Damariscotta and Whitefield where there were two churches, St. Patrick's and St. Dennis', and where there was one priest, Father Dennis Ryan.

These three centers were the Catholic inheritance from Maine's colonial and post-revolutionary history and they became the foundation stones of the diocese of Portland established in 1853. Each of the foundation stones deserves a remembrance.

There was, however, one other inheritance that merits a mention. The people of Maine had inherited from their long colonial history, as had all the other New Englanders, a strong dislike of Catholicism. The Pilgrims and the Puritans had brought an intensely hostile attitude towards Rome to these shores, and that attitude had been intensified, rather than softened, with the passing years. Their isolated position both from other colonies and from Europe had protected and narrowed the original frame of mind, education and pulpit had nourished it, the conflict with France, the activities of French missionaries in Maine, and the threat of an Anglican episcopacy imposed by King and parliament had kept the frame of mind alert. Indeed, the history of Catholicism in colonial New England was a "history of the moulding and development of a hostile viewpoint in regard to various aspects of Catholic civilization."

The people of Maine naturally inherited this attitude. Rome, the Pope, bishops, priests, the Mass, Catholic practices, even such holydays as Christmas were synonyms for something evil, somehow associated with Antichrist. This fear of Catholicism was present when the new state constitutions were framed after the Declaration of Independence. Accordingly, the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 required all state officials to take an oath that excluded Catholics from office and provided that Congregational ministers be publicly supported in towns unless the system of voluntary support, as in Boston, for instance, had been accepted.

Yet Maine, despite this inherited hostility to Catholicism, manifested her independence of Massachusetts by framing a constitution that guaranteed freedom, religious and political, to Catholics. Some have credited this constitutional provision to the small but influential group of Catholics living in and near Damariscotta. It is true that the drafting convention was presented with a petition signed by three leaders of this Catholic community, James Kavanagh, Matthew Cottrill, and William Mooney, which begged the delegates to place the Catholics of Maine upon an equality with their Protestant fellow citizens and to see to it

> that the Constitution which you are about to frame as the fundamental law of this State may contain no clause or provision requiring any man to renounce his religion or become prescribed: to either betray his conscience or be debarred of the privileges and immunities of the citizen . . .

Yet it is not easy to determine the exact influence of this petition.

It is obvious that this small group of Catholics were smarting under the restrictions imposed by the constitution of Massachusetts and that they feared Maine might follow this example. There does not appear to have been, however, any desire or plan by the delegates to exclude Catholics from political life, and independent of any petition by Catholics, the omission of the ministerial tax was inevitable. The Baptists and other religious dissenters to the standing order, stronger in Maine than in the Bay State, insisted on the omisson of that clause. Kavanagh and his friends were aware of this, no doubt, and hence concentrated on the omission of any oath that would exclude Catholics from full political life of a citizen. The delegates, whatever the influence of the petition, did frame a constitution that satisfied the petitioners. So, in 1820, the few but articulate Catholics of Maine could aspire, if otherwise qualified, to political office. One of them, at least, did so aspire and in time became the governor of Maine. It was a happy turn of events that this person who became governor also penned the petition. He, in turn, had to thank his father, James Kavanagh, one of the signers of the petition for selecting Maine as his home in the new world. It is quite unlikely that Edward Kavanagh would have been a governor if his father had settled in any other New England state. In New Hampshire, which would be part of the diocese of Portland when established in 1853, Catholics were disqualified from the office of governor and membership in the legislature until late in the nineteenth century (1876). The few Catholics of this state found the proscription a painful humiliation and this was especially true of the converts who found themselves second-class citizens. New Hampshire was chided for this survival of colonial mentality. As late as January 26, 1854, we find the editor of the *Bangor Whig and Courier* sympathizing with the status of these converts. "We have known," he remarked, "several such instances to occur in New Hampshire, and they keenly felt the full weight of that anti-republican and oppressive provision." Maine had good reasons to be proud of her basic law framed in 1820 and of her rejection of this part of her colonial inheritance.

1. INDIAN ISLAND AND PLEASANT POINT

A century after Rasle's death the Abenaki Indians of Maine had declined to about 750 divided between two mixed tribes and were restricted to two small reservations: Indian Island in the Penobscot River, opposite Oldtown and about ten miles above Bangor, and Pleasant Point, a peninsula near Eastport that juts into the Atlantic. The century had not been kind to them. But they had retained their Christian faith as taught them by the missionaries.

The death of Rasle had been followed by the defeat of the Saco and Penobscot Indians. The surviving Saco Indians sought refuge in Canada, and the Penobscots sued for peace which was fairly well observed until the King George's War (1744-1748). After that there was an interlude of six years before the last and decisive war that resulted in the conquest of North America by England, finally recognized in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. But in peace and war there was no interlude in the steady encroaching of the white on the lands of the Indians.

Norridgewock had been resettled by the Indians sometime after the death of Rasle, at the urging of the authorities of New France who were more concerned with a buffer to the New England colonies than the welfare of the Indians. And a Jesuit returned to live with them. Father Jacques Sirene was assigned to the mission in 1730 and probably spent most of his remaining life (he died in 1747) with them. Some of the Indians remained in their Kennebec villages until the Anglo-French struggle was over. But the Penobscot River had become the last stronghold of the Maine Indians after Rasle's death, and Indian Island had become the important mission. For over thirty years (1701-1732), Father Antoine Gaulen, a member of the Society of Foreign Missions, had heroically served them. But after 1744 the Maine Indians had little choice: retreat into Canada or submission to the English. Those who remained in Maine were occasionally served by priests at the missions on the St. John or St. Francis, but more often the Indians would visit the missions. They were determined, come what may, to retain their faith.

This determination was behind their constant request for a resident priest, a request that was given priority over their complaints about trading conditions and loss of lands. They sought one from the Bishop of Quebec who had no priest to spare; they sought one from the Governor-General of Canada who told them they were now, after the treaty of 1763, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; they sought a priest, in their simplicity, from Governor Bernard of Massachusetts. All they got was an occasional visit from an Acadian missionary, until the tide turned in their favor and they found themselves in a bargaining position. The American Revolution was the favorable tide.

Though hardly more than a shadow of their pristine strength, the Maine Indians, in conjunction with the other Eastern tribes in Canada, posed a threat to the struggling colonials who were compelled to seek aid from any source, even from those whom they had heartily hated. Massachusetts, of course, was more concerned with the Indian problem than the other colonies. To enlist their aid or, at least, to insure their neutrality was a necessity. The Indians were in no mood to fight, were baffled by the conflict between former friends, and gave the Puritans a lesson in fundamental morality by informing the authorities of Massachusetts that "we cannot think of fighting till we know who is right and who is wrong." Washington, while in Boston and after his departure, did much to win their friendship by his letters to them. But the Indians did insist on a resident priest, and in the fall of 1776 the authorities of Massachusetts agreed to their demand, although obviously they were in no position to supply one. The agreement was dictated by the desire to survive and not from a change of heart. The Indians, however, were aided by the sympathetic approach and methods of a Nova Scotian, Colonel John Allan, who was appointed Superintendent of Eastern Indians early in January, 1777. Through his efforts a visit from a French naval chaplain was arranged. Father H. de la Motte spent only a few months with the Passamaquoddy Indians in the summer of 1779, but that must not be permitted to diminish the substance of the victory: the priest had returned to their village with the consent of Massachusetts. Their determination had been rewarded, with the help of the American Revolution.

The American Revolution also hastened the process of their confinement to reservations. They were now under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and soon after the treaty of peace (1783) the first of a series of agreements depriving them of their lands was negotiated. First, the Penobscots were restricted to Indian Island and some other nearby small islands in the river, with hunting grounds some fifty miles above; in 1815 the hunting grounds, save four townships, were taken away; in 1833 the four townships were lost. And in the 1790's the Passamaquoddy Indians were restricted to Pleasant Point. For the Maine Indian, accustomed to roam the wide expanse of the beautiful state, that was an unbearable mode of life. Only a resident priest could make life bearable.

The promise of a resident priest was not easily won; to provide one in the last decade of the eighteenth century appeared hopeless. But here again we clearly see the mysterious ways of Divine Providence. The exigencies of the American Revolution compelled the authorities of Massachusetts to consent to a resident priest among the Indians. The priests came from France, refugees from the excesses of the French Revolution which started in 1789, the year our Federal Constitution became operative. Three missionaries served them during the years 1792-1818, and it can safely be said that their arrival and ministrations saved the Maine Indians. The three were Francois R. Ciquard (1792-1794), John Cheverus (1797-1798), and James R. Romagné (1799-1818), and by assigning all three of them to the Maine Indians Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore gave the Catholics of America a practical lesson in Catholic doctrine that was needed then and thereafter: there is no place for racism among Catholics. At the time priests were needed badly in many quarters and Bishop Carroll was pressed to provide them. The Indians were considered inferior and expendable in some quarters. But they were the first-born of the faith in New England and deserved a mother's concern for her first-born. And their salvation was as important as the salvation of recent European immigrants or of families with long colonial traditions. The reason for the constant concern to provide the Maine Indians with a resident priest must not escape us. One of the most meaningful events in New England Catholic history is the sharing of a priest (Father Romagné) by the Indians of Maine and the Irish community of Damariscotta.

Father Ciquard came to this country in the company of three priests who contributed much to the early chapters of the Catholic Church in the United States; Gabriel Richard, a pioneer missionary in Illinois and Michigan who published *The Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer,* the first Catholic journal in the United States as well as the first newspaper in Michigan; Ambrose Maréchal, who became the third Archbishop of Baltimore; Francis Matignon, the founding father of the Catholic Church in Boston. Ciquard's contribution was not the equal of the other three, but his work should not be minimized.

The Indians needed a priest badly. Their retention of the faith was undoubtedly remarkable, and Cheverus marvelled that they were able to sing the Requiem Mass exactly as in France, chanting the Kyrie and the Preface in Latin. But we must not allow a cloak of romanticism to cover the weaknesses of these children of the woods. We also know from the letters of Ciquard, Cheverus and Romagné that corruption and license had invaded their reservations, much of it due to excessive drinking. A sober Indian was a good person, but few were sober. They needed rehabilitation from the constant direction of a priest and Father Ciquard started it.

He stayed only two years (arriving in October, 1792 and departing in August, 1794) at Pleasant Point. He would have remained longer if Massachusetts had not been so slow in granting him support. While he was struggling to master the Indian language without means of support, the Governor-General of Canada offered him, at the request of the Micmac and St. John Indians, an annual salary if he would reside among these Canadian Indians. With the consent of Bishop Carroll the offer was accepted and he moved to Fredericktown. He did not abandon the Maine Indians entirely, for he visited Indian Island in 1797 when Father Cheverus was unable to do so.[1] From the scant information available one would gather that Father Ciquard's temperament called for a change of scenery periodically.

Father Cheverus, later the first bishop of Boston, spent the summer of 1797 with the Indians at Pleasant Point, – the same summer Ciquard visited Indian Island. He had arrived in Boston the previous October and was appointed missionary to the Indians and assistant to Father Matignon who needed him badly in Boston. He spent the summer of 1798 at Pleasant Point and Indian Island. Then Father Romagné, his good friend, arrived in Boston and was appointed the Indian missionary. Cheverus' good work for the Indians was not restricted to these two summers, for together he and Romagné combined to serve both the Indians and the Catholic community in and around Damariscotta for twenty years, until Father Dennis Ryan was appointed pastor of the Damariscotta Catholics in 1818. Romagné would spend the summer and fall with the Indians and the winter with the Kavanaghs at Damariscotta, returning to the Indians when Cheverus started his annual mission in Maine, with headquarters at the Kavanagh home. These two priests laid the foundations of the Catholic Church in Maine.

Cheverus would never forget his experience during his second visit to Pleasant Point. We have mentioned how pleased he was with their chanting of the Mass and how saddened he was by the consequences of excessive drinking. In his gentle way he started in 1797 to correct their conduct, and one gets the impression that the Indians had decided to put their missionary to a test the next summer. When he was ready to go to Indian Island in 1798 they arranged the trip. The two reservations were about eighty miles apart. On the day of departure, noon on Friday, June 1, a miserably rainy day, Cheverus was accompanied by five canoes, two supplied by the Passamaquoddies and the others by the Penobscots, and fourteen Indians, including three squaws and three children, who, no doubt, were added to impress Cheverus that the trip was child's play.

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[1] In 1798 he moved to Detroit where he remained for five years and then returned to the St. John Indians where he remained nine years. He then moved to the St. Francis Indians and spent three years with them. He retired to Montreal about 1815 and died there in 1824.

It is not easy to follow the route they took as described by Cheverus. The most arduous way was clearly selected and I suspect Cheverus was the first white man to make it. Due to the rain they covered only ten miles on Friday, stopping at a store near the mouth of the "Schoudick," (St. Croix). The remaining two nights were spent on the ground with a canoe as a cover. They travelled up and down rivers, passed through six lakes, made ten portages through dense woods, the last one, which was four miles but seemed to Cheverus to be twenty, bringing them to the Penobscot. Not even a log cabin was passed on this route after leaving the store Saturday morning. Writing to Father Matignon three days after his arrival at Indian Island he could recall falling down at least six times during the trip. Yet he was, he insisted, in excellent health. Indeed, he must have had considerable physical strength and courage, and the Indians were proud of him. He did much for them on this visit and more later as their bishop, and they in return have dedicated one of the windows of their church, St. Ann's, to their friend and bishop. He deserved a plaque on the score of this four day trip; since three small children had also made the trip he was in no position to boast about his ability as a pathfinder until he visited the Kavanaghs at Damariscotta on his way back to Boston. This was his first visit to them. Thereafter he would spend the summers at Damariscotta, but not on vacations, as we shall see.

The arrival of Father Romagné in the summer of 1799 was a godsend. He was immediately assigned to the Maine Indians, residing at Pleasant Point where we find him replacing the shack that passed as a chapel when Cheverus first arrived there. By 1804 he had built a much better church with the three hundred dollars granted by the General Court. Massachusetts had also in 1798 appropriated two hundred dollars for the annual support of a resident priest, and this freed him from concern over the necessities of life. For nearly two scores of years he labored for the Maine Indians and greatly improved their lot. He is not mentioned in Greenleaf's history of the Maine churches because in 1818, broken in health and longing for his homeland after the restoration in 1815, he returned to France in the fall of 1818.

One can not do justice to this great man. Like Cheverus, he was learned, pious, affable, and indefatigable. Like Rasle, he was one of America's outstanding Indian missionaries and only Rasle exceeded him in length of service among the New England Indians. At his urging the Indians petitioned and received from the General Court a house, a barn and ninety acres of cleared land and he with considerable success introduced them to farming; he mastered their language and before five years had elapsed had written an Indian prayer-book, published thirty years later, in 1834, by Bishop Fenwick; he declined the opportunity of being pastor of St. Patrick's in Damariscotta in favor of the Indians; he was host to the first bishop to confirm at Pleasant Point when Bishop Cheverus came in 1811 to confirm 122 Indians instructed by him. And in 1816 he managed to heal a breach in the tribe due to consequences of a bitter election of a chief. The estimates of two men who lived in different worlds are clues to his charming character. General Benjamin Lincoln, informed that Romagné would be in the vicinity of Thomaston, wrote to General Henry Knox: "If you shall meet him in your walks, embrace him." Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis of Quebec, after a visit with him at Pleasant Point in 1815, told others about this "sweet and amiable" man. The French Revolution was kind at least to the Maine Indians.

In 1805 came the arrangement whereby Romagné spent the winters with the Kavanaghs at Damariscotta, ministering to the

Catholics of this area, and the summers and falls with the Indians, when Cheverus came from Boston to Damariscotta. This routine lasted until 1818, when Romagné returned to France and Father Ryan was appointed pastor of St. Patrick's. Cheverus, however, was not vacationing. Generally he spent the first week and alternate Sundays thereafter in Damariscotta and Newcastle; during the remaining weeks he scoured the towns between the Kennebec and the Penobscot in search of lost Catholics. He was laying the foundations of the diocese of Portland. But this is properly the story of the second center of the Catholics in Maine: St. Patrick's in Damariscotta.

2. DAMARISCOTTA AND WHITEFIELD

One of the agreeable surprises in Greenleaf's *Sketches* is the discovery that by 1820 there were one hundred and eight Catholic families living in or near the two towns of Damariscotta and Whitefield in Lincoln County, a Catholic church in each of the two villages, with a priest, Father Dennis Ryan, pastor of the two congregations and residing in Whitefield. Since large families were then popular, there must have been four or five hundred Catholics in this area, a majority of them Irish immigrants and their children and the others converts from various Protestant denominations.

One of the two churches, St. Dennis' in Whitefield, had been completed in time to be mentioned by Greenleaf but was in fact a "miserably built" wooden structure; the other, however, St. Patrick's in Damariscotta, was a beautiful brick church with a Paul Revere bell in its belfry which gave it an authentic American atmosphere. Construction on it started in 1807 and Father Cheverus blessed it on July 17, 1808. It was, excepting the Indian chapels built by the missionaries, the second Catholic church constructed in New England, antedated only by the Franklin Street church, later Boston's first cathedral. Today it is the oldest Catholic church in all New England. It was called St. Patrick's because, as Cheverus observed on the occasion of the blessing, "it proclaims that our church here is the work of Irish piety." Much of the credit, under God, for these two churches and the flourishing Catholic community along the banks and basins of the Damariscotta and Sheepscott must be given to two Irish merchants who established themselves at Newcastle in the early years of the 1790's, and to Father Cheverus who ministered to them and to the Irish immigrants who soon gravitated to this district and added to their numbers by converting many of their Protestant neighbors. The history of St. Patrick's is full of romance and merits a book to itself. We can give only a few salient features of its history.

The two Irish merchants were James Kavanagh and Matthew Cottrill who decided to seek their fortunes in Newcastle, Maine, rather than in Boston where they had landed during the Revolution. They were young, Kavanagh about twenty-four and Cottrill eighteen, without any known financial resources, able and ambitious to make good in the new world. They remained in Boston for about ten years and then decided to settle in Maine. Newcastle on the Damariscotta River was their choice; it was a happy one and probably a deliberate one, for Newcastle, due to its abundance of timber, navigable streams and ship-building facilities, lent itself to the prosperity that visited this section during the early Napoleonic era (1795-1805). The two became business partners, were soon established as prosperous merchants, as ship-builders (they constructed about twenty-five ships), and as land owners (as early as 1795 they purchased an estate of 567 acres). As "men of high standing and consideration, in the part of the country in which they resided," to borrow the words of a judge sitting on a case involving the two men, Kavanagh and Cottrill became civic leaders of Newcastle and Damariscotta, and bolstered their positions of wealth and prestige by building homes for themselves and their growing families that are today show places. Their wealth, however, did not weaken their Catholic faith.

While it was the prominence of the two merchants that attracted other Irish immigrants trekking down the Maine coast from New Brunswick, it was the zeal of Father Cheverus that preserved their faith from languishing under the pressure of the dominant Protestant culture and, indeed, gave to the despised religion a parcel of prestige by attracting to the faith many Protestants, some of whom were socially prominent.

Cheverus' first visit was in the summer of 1798, a few weeks after his four day expedition from Pleasant Point to Indian Island. He had been compelled to abandon his plans to visit them on his first journey to Maine. But he managed to make their acquaintance on this second trip, and writing to Matignon from Indian Island he describes the probable route he would take: "I suppose I shall go in a canoe to Belfast forty miles from here, and then go on horse back and follow the Post Road." Assuming that Cheverus had sufficiently adapted himself to enjoy travel by canoe, this meant an enjoyable trip down the beautiful Penobscot past Bangor, where Biard had planned his mission, and into the Penobscot Bay. Belfast was opposite Castine where the Capuchins had their mission. From Belfast to Newcastle was another forty miles.

His visit was brief, but long enough to see and appreciate the merit and true worth of this small group of Catholics and their two leaders. Thereafter he frequently praised his Damariscotta friends and spoke of the "friendly, respectful, and delicate attention" he received at the hands of the Kavanaghs. He promised to return the next summer and when he did he found they had built a chapel, St. Mary's of the Mills, a temporary affair until a church could be constructed. They had already decided it would be a brick church. He returned annually every summer, with one exception, until 1818 when Father Dennis Ryan became their resident pastor. Neither his appointment as Boston's first bishop nor the reverses in the War of 1812, when the British controlled Maine east of the Penobscot, from Bangor to Eastport, interfered with this task. Father Matignon admired these pioneering Catholics, too, and he it was who arranged, during a visit in the autumn of 1805, that

Romagné would spend the winters with the Kavanaghs returning to the Indians when Cheverus made his summer visit.

From the beginning Cheverus had taken care to protect their faith during his long absences by writing detailed instructions in a circular letter that was carefully read, noted, and passed on to the next neighbor. One such letter, written August 4, 1797, during his first visit to Maine, has survived. From Pleasant Point he had written to Father Matignon on July 31 that "I must give up my design of calling at Demiscotty." Undoubtedly he wrote to the Catholics there that the visit must be postponed, and in place of a visit substituted a letter of instructions. The extant letter is addressed to Hanly, and the absence of any address would indicate that others came in the same post. The Hanly brothers, Roger and Patrick, had settled in Bristol before the Revolution and were visited by Kavanagh and Cottrill on their way to Newcastle. Some of the Hanlys later moved to Newcastle and Damariscotta, and this family name outnumbers any other in St. Patrick's graveyard.

Aware that their faith could not survive in this isolated atmosphere unless faithfully practiced, he gave them detailed instructions on daily and Sunday devotions and supplied them with manuals to use: morning and evening prayers to be offered on their knees; on Sundays and holy days they were to gather together in the morning and again in the afternoon; in the morning the prayers, the epistle and gospel of the Sunday Mass and other devotions would be said; in the afternoon a vesper service with the Litany and a prescribed chapter from the *Poor Man's Catechism,* a small volume that nourished the faith of many Catholics in this country. This book also contained the days of fasting and abstinence, and all obliged were reminded to observe them; all, too, were reminded to be prepared to go to Confession and to receive Holy Communion on the priest's next visit. Through such detailed loving care by Cheverus and grateful cooperation by the heads of the families did a vigorous Catholic colony develop on the banks of the Damariscotta. In fairness, however, to these pioneer Catholics we must add that Cheverus did not introduce Catholic manuals and books into this community. From the start they were book lovers, and their names appear on the lists of subscribers found in books published by Matthew Carey and Bernard Dornin, America's first Catholic publishers. And when in 1800 Father Cheverus edited *Anthems, Hymns &c. Usually Sung at the Catholic Church in Boston,* James Kavanagh had a copy bound in fine leather and "Sarah Kavanagh" stamped in gold on the cover for his wife.

But private devotions and social worship were only part of the complete Catholic life. There were neighbors, both Catholic and Protestant, to be considered. It was the doctrine of the Catholic Church, Hanly was told, that you have charity for all and pray for their salvation, "let his Religion be what it will." And knowing that the pressure would be heavy on the Hanlys and other pioneer Catholics to join one of the Protestant churches, he concludes his instructions with these words: "But the same Church forbids and has in all ages forbidden her children to attend the public worship of any society separated from her."

Cheverus followed a rather rigid schedule during his annual missions to Lincoln County. He would spend the first week with the Kavanaghs and attending to the Catholics of Newcastle and Damariscotta. Then he would start on a circuit (it expanded with the years), returning on alternate Sundays to offer Mass at St. Mary's of the Mills or St. Patrick's. The circuit took him through the towns between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, from Augusta to Bangor, concentrating, however, on the towns on the lower Sheepscott, Damariscotta, Medomac and Georges Rivers: Bath, Wiscasset, Whitefield, Pittston, Gardiner, Edgecomb, Bristol, Jefferson, Waldoboro, Warren, Hope, Union, Belfast.

As the circuit extended the number of Catholics increased. He must have been, as we are today, surprised to discover that Catholics were quietly slipping into these coastal towns. On his first circuit, during his second visit (1799), he contacted twelve Catholic families that had a total of forty children. No doubt one Catholic family would direct him to another or would post him on newcomers to the district. By 1804 there were more than two hundred Catholics living within twenty miles of the little chapel of St. Mary's of the Mills. By 1820 we know that there were one hundred and eight families (probably four or five hundred persons) in the two congregations of St. Patrick's and St. Dennis'. Whitefield had outstripped Damariscotta and Newcastle in numbers of Catholics. Good land was more easily available there, and Whitefield became a rural Catholic center.

This growth of prosperous Catholic communities in Damariscotta, Newcastle, and especially Whitefield where the concentration was on farming, was obviously the solution to the Irish immigration problem that was disturbing the civil authorities of American ports of entry and the bishops and priests of these cities. The example was not lost on Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston when he visited Whitefield and he would attempt to divert the Irish immigrant to the soil. And the success of Cheverus in unearthing stray Catholics in these river and coastal towns allows us to suppose that Catholics were quietly entering the coastal towns of Maine in considerable numbers. Many, however, did not have a Cheverus on the search for them.

Bishop Cheverus returned to France in 1823 with many pleasant memories of Damariscotta. He could at that late day even smile about his escape from the pillory for officiating at the marriage of Elizabeth Jackson, a sister of Mrs. James Kavanagh, and James Smithwick. It was the first Catholic marriage in the town and it took place in the Kavanagh home on the first day of the new century. Cheverus had made the trip from Boston to be there. It was a gala day, but some months later Cheverus was in court charged with breaking the law that forbade under severe penalty any one other than a settled minister to solemnize marriages in a Massachusetts town. He would have been fined eighty pounds and sentenced to an hour in the pillory, if an able lawyer had not shown the court that he was empowered to solemnize marriages within the meaning of the law. The point whether he was authorized to officiate at marriages in Newcastle was never settled, due to a timely accident to the judge. But Cheverus returned from Newcastle in the fall of 1801 with a written agreement that he was the pastor of the Catholics of Newcastle and Damariscotta.

Every summer had some pleasant event that remained vivid. In 1801 the Kavanagh's fourth child was born, their second son, and he was named John Cheverus Kavanagh; two years later there was another child to be baptized and he was named Francis Matignon Kavanagh. In 1803, the two Boston priests paid the Kavanaghs and the Cottrills a great tribute by bringing Bishop John Carroll to Damariscotta. He had come to Boston to consecrate the Franklin Street church and they brought him to the two Irish pioneers of Maine, for they had contributed a thousand dollars towards its construction and had supplied the timber for the church. The happiest day, no doubt, for both Cheverus and the Irish community was July 17, 1808, when St. Patrick's was blessed. St. Patrick's was the fulfillment of many years of planning. To provide a temporary place for worship until their plans fructified, St. Mary's of the Mills had been constructed. As early as 1800 Bishop Carroll had been informed of the plans for "a good brick church . . . which would cost at the lowest estimate four or five thousand dollars." Five years later $2,070 had been collected, Matignon and Cheverus each donating one hundred dollars. The site for the new church was in Damariscotta Mills, not Newcastle as frequently stated, and this was purchased from the two merchants for five hundred dollars. The church was completed through the generosity of these two men who contributed two thousand dollars to the building fund, donated the land for a cemetery adjoining the church lot and land for a rectory. No diocese has had such loving care and concern expended on its first church. These pioneers have not been forgotten. A visitor today to St. Patrick's will notice that the first window on the epistle side is in memory of James Kavanagh and its counterpart on the gospel side is dedicated to his friend, Matthew Cottrill, while the other windows are reminders of other pioneers and their descendants: the Hanlys, Madigans, McGuires and Mulligans. They were unaware at the time St. Patrick's was blessed that they were entertaining the first bishop of Boston, for the information that Pope Pius VII had appointed Cheverus on April 8 bishop of Boston with jurisdiction over all New England was slow in arriving.

In all his relations with this community there was only one sharp disappointment. He expected Edward Kavanagh and John Cottrill, the eldest sons of the two merchants, to be priests and to carry on his work in New England. He had directed their education; four years at the College de Montreal, a year at Georgetown, and then at St. Mary's, Baltimore. But John Cottrill did not attend classes at St. Mary's; after the transfer had been arranged, Matthew Cottrill decided "to keep his son at home and make a merchant of him." Bishop Cheverus' namesake, John Cheverus Kavanagh, accompanied Edward to Baltimore in the fall of 1811 to attend Mount St. Mary's in Emmitsburg while Edward was at St. Mary's in Baltimore. Edward spent two years there, and there is no doubt that he intended to study for the priesthood, for on April 14, 1813 he received the tonsure, the first step towards the altar, and when the war prevented his return to Baltimore in the fall of 1814 he studied theology under Matignon in Boston. The war also changed his plans. It ruined his father's business, and the merchant looked to his eldest son to salvage whatever possible. Edward turned to the mercantile business, to law, and eventually politics for his career. One of the puzzling aspects of the Catholic communities of St. Patrick's and St. Dennis' was the failure to provide priests for Maine. Under the guidance of Cheverus and Ryan one would have expected four or five, at least. Maine's Catholic history would have been quite different if the expected had been realized.

Edward Kavanagh, however, did make his mark in Maine history. He remained a staunch Catholic and became a model for Catholics in politics. Despite the political disadvantages of his religion and racial ancestry, he won the respect and confidence of his Protestant neighbors. They elected him first to highly esteemed offices in his own township, and then to the lower (1826) and upper house (1828) of the state legislature, and next to Congress (1831-35), and, after a fine record as a diplomat in Portugal (1835-1841), he succeeded as President of the Senate, to the office of governor (1843) when Governor Fairfield resigned to become a United States Senator. He was the first Catholic to hold these offices in any New England state.

After his election to Congress and before the session opened in the fall of 1831, Kavanagh and John G. Deane were commissioned by Governor Samuel E. Smith to investigate and report on the inhabitants living in the Madawaska district, that northern section of Maine that was claimed by both Maine and Great Britain. This investigation resulted in the first clear report on the people living in this area and in the discovery that there was another vigorous group of Catholics in Maine.

3. MADAWASKA

A surprise awaited Edward Kavanagh on reaching Madawaska. On the banks of the River St. John, between the St. Francis and the Grand Falls, a run of about sixty-four miles, was a Catholic community that antedated the Irish community on the Damariscotta. The settlers on the St. John were also surprised to discover that one of the two commissioners appointed by the State of Maine to interview them was a Catholic. They had been completely isolated from Maine authorities, and Maine officials, in return, were hazy about affairs on the St. John. A census had been attempted in 1820 and John G. Deane, the other commissioner, had gathered some information on the district during the late 1820's. This land was disputed between the United States and Great Britain and had been since the peace treaty of 1783. Maine claimed the land, and since the federal government was anxious to settle the dispute without recourse to war Maine had decided it was time she had a complete picture of the situation. Kavanagh, of course, was selected because he was a Catholic, recently elected to Congress, and spoke French fluently. Governor Samuel E. Smith surmised that these two qualifications, with the added prestige of being Congressman-elect, would win the confidence of the settlers, and his surmise was correct, for Kavanagh and Deane found the settlers friendly and cooperative with the exception of two families who had linked their fortunes and their future with the New Brunswick authorities.

They found a settlement that was about forty-five years old, had emerged from the primitive stage and was now assuming some of the signs of the melting-pot. By 1831 many nationalities had gathered on the river's banks: a remnant of the original Indians, some of the original Acadian settlers and their children, French Canadians, Maine Yankees, Nova Scotians, New Brunswickians, Irish, Scotch, English and even Italians. One group, however, dominated, and it was not the Yankees as might be expected. This river, really New England's last frontier, had moulded a new type: the Madawaskans, those who had been born in the district.

The American Revolution had a hand in the origins of the Madawaska colony, for the original settlers were about twenty Acadian families who had been displaced from their homes in and around Fredericton to satisfy the American Loyalists who had been driven into exile by the revolution and had moved to the mouth of the St. John, then a part of Nova Scotia but soon (1784) established by these Loyalists as the province of New Brunswick. The refugees from the American Revolution, then, had compelled these Acadians to become refugees again; that had been their unhappy lot during the century. They settled not far from an Indian village located near the convergence of the St. John and Madawaska rivers and where, in 1783, two French-Canadian trappers had established a trading post. They first settled on the south bank of the river and hence were on what would be American soil when the international boundary was finally established in 1842. It is not clear whether these Acadians selected this place to escape British jurisdiction (as Maine claimed) or were settled there with deliberate plans by the English. The Acadians had no preferences for either government; they wanted to be alone. Neither Massachusetts nor Maine was in any position to provide them assistance, whereas New Brunswick could and did take care of their few material needs and Quebec looked after their spiritual wants.

Another group of Acadians from the Kennebecasis River in Nova Scotia joined the original settlers in 1790 and French-Canadians were soon attracted to the new settlement. In 1790 and again in 1794 the settlers received land grants from the British authorities, an exercise of authority the settlers accepted since it gave them title to land. The land granted in the first instance was on both sides of the river from the Madawaska to the Green River and the land between the Green and the Grand River was disposed of in the second grant. There were Canadians among the first and second grantees, and there were Canadians on the petition addressed in 1792 to the Bishop of Quebec asking his permission to build a church. This petition was written by a priest, Father J. H. Paquet, who spoke for the thirty-one families of the settlement. It would seem that they were attended by a missionary shortly after their arrival, for Madawaska was an Indian mission station.

The first New Englanders, men from the Kennebec region, added a new racial element to the frontier settlement in 1817 and they started to take over the river banks between the St. Francis and the Fish Rivers. By this year the Acadians and Canadians had extended their holdings beyond Madawaska to the Fish River. During the 1820's there was a rapid influx of newcomers from all directions: Maine, New Brunswick, Canada, Nova Scotia. Kavanagh and Deane made an effort to tag each settler with a nationality, and when one with the name of Charles McPherson did not sufficiently identify himself they listed him as an "alien." But the Madawaskans dominated the life on the river banks. And in time they controlled the section the Yankees had appropriated; St. Francis, opposite the mouth of the St. Francis River, and Fort Kent, at the confluence of the Fish and St. John, became French-speaking or Madawaskan towns. They gradually moved down the streams that flowed into the St. John, founding towns like Wallgrass and Eagle Lake on the Fish River. And the original settlers gave their names to streams (Violette Stream; Daigle Brook) and to villages (Cyr, Daigle, Michaud, Ouelette).

The population increased rapidly from these new migrations and the traditionally large families. By 1831 there were about two thousand settlers. Twenty-seven families alone had a total of 334 children, an average of more than eleven to a family. The four Thibedeau families had fifty-one children; the five Cyr families had fifty-seven children. The Irish were just getting established by 1831 and being late comers the majority appear to have been single. There were, however, eleven families with Irish names (probably only the father was Celtic) and together they had thirty-four children. The Thibedeaus outnumbered them.

"Almost all are Roman Catholics," the Kavanagh-Deane Report observes. The exceptions would be the Yankees and the more recent immigrants from New Brunswick. The Madawaskans were also deeply religious. There were, according to Kavanagh, three churches or chapels along the river banks and two of them were on the south shore. The oldest, and the mother church of all the others on both sides of the river, was St. Basil's, located on the north shore, four or five miles from the Indian village at the mouth of the Madawaska. The settlers had petitioned the Bishop of Quebec for permission to build in

1792, and no doubt they were anticipating a request for a resident priest when the petition was made. Presumably it was built shortly after the permission was granted. The church had, in 1831, a steeple and a bell, there was a parish rectory with a spacious parish lot of forty acres all cleared and a frontage of sixty rods on the river's bank. Here Father Jean Elie Sirois resided, pastor of St. Basil's. Kavanagh and Deane attended Mass there on the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31, and after Mass they had a talk with the pastor. He gave them the impression that another visit would not be agreeable. The cool reception was evidently mentioned to other settlers and they corrected the two commissioners, telling them Father Sirois wanted to see them again. Kavanagh and Deane were experienced men and quite capable of recognizing an open house. They did, however, write him a letter before their departure.

Father Sirois was not the first pastor of St. Basil's. Since 1786 the Madawaskans had been visited by a priest, and Father Ciquard, the missionary who had first worked with the Passamaquoddy Indians, had resided with them during part of the years of 1794-1798. They had had a resident priest since 1808. Bishop Cheverus and his successors were never in the position to provide them with spiritual care, and this was the factor that linked them to Canada and New Brunswick long after the international boundary had been established.

It is quite obvious that the settlers and not Father Sirois gave them their information on the other two churches. Kavanagh refers to them as parishes. St. Basil's was the only parish at this time, but there were two missions and it would seem that local pride had already raised them to the status of parishes. The two churches or chapels on the south bank of the river were at the extremities of the settlement, St. Bruno's near Van Buren and St. Luce (formerly St. Emilie, according to the Kavanagh-Deane Report) near Frenchville. The growing population needed the two churches, and the settlers rightly figured that it was more convenient for the priest to cross the river to say Mass than for the large families to travel to St.

Bruno's. These two church buildings had been built recently, for in the deed dated July 22, 1828 whereby Father Sirois ceded these two church lots to the Bishop of Quebec there is no mention of churches or chapels. The next year, however, Sirois was directed by the bishop to offer Mass and to give an instruction on one Sunday each month at St. Luce, while the Madawaskans were instructed to provide transportation for the priest on sick calls and funerals. And it would appear that some of the settlers were anticipating the bishop, for Kavanagh was told where the boundary line separating St. Luce from St. Basil was: where Hartford's Brook emptied into the St. John.

St. Bruno's is the oldest of the churches on the south or American side of the river and was the mother of the churches in the Maine section of Madawaska. It was established as a parish in the fall of 1838, and five years later St. Luce had her resident priest. By then the chapel that Kavanagh had seen had been replaced with a more suitable church.

The south bank of the river was the more popular with the Madawaskans. There were five grist-mills in the settlement, four on the American side, and the best of the five, the one on the north bank, was owned by a Yankee: John Baker. There were also five sawmills, and again four of these were on the American side. There was a blacksmith shop on each side of the river. There was also a school on each side; the one on the north side had a teacher supported by the New Brunswick authorities and the one on the south side, an "English school," according to Kavanagh, was presided over by an unnamed old soldier. Actually formal education did not play an important part in this isolated, self-supporting frontier settlement at this time.

The Madawaskans remained isolated from the main currents of American life but found themselves caught up in the bitter dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the boundary line described in the peace treaty of 1783. The northeastern boundary could not be determined. The first group of Acadians had settled there two years after the treaty was signed and hence unwittingly involved themselves in this long dispute. Their wishes, however, were not consulted by either side. By religion and language they were linked with Canada, but the immediate parties of the dispute were Maine and New Brunswick. Although the attempt of the Americans to organize Madawaska into a township in 1831 was abortive, Kavanagh and Deane reported that no one could mistake the direction of the sympathies of the Madawaskans; they were on the side of the Americans. The Madawaskans were a cautious people, and this surely was the correct impression to give to the two Maine commissioners. The titles to their land could depend on Maine.

Edward Kavanagh had a hand in deciding whether the Madawaskans would be American citizens or British subjects. He was one of the four Maine commissioners appointed by the Maine legislature to consult with Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, and Lord Ashburton, British diplomat, in determining the international boundary. It was settled in 1842, and unfortunately for the Madawaskans the St. John River was accepted as the boundary line. This divided the settlement. All on the southern bank henceforth were Americans. The next year Kavanagh was Governor of Maine, succeeding to that office March 7 when Governor John Fairfield resigned to take a seat in the Senate. Some months after he was in office he received information from some of the inhabitants of Madawaska that was not news to him. He was told that the people of this district were generally unacquainted with American laws and customs, were unable to read or write, and only a few understood English. Kavanagh understood the problem better than his informant, for he had observd and reported in 1831 that the Madawaskans were strangers to the Anglo-Saxon political traditions of assemblies, elections, magistrates, courts and warrants. Relatively free from any outside government, they were governed by customs and usages that had long been respected; spotting a few trees was sufficient to establish title to a land; title to lands was transferred without a deed. And yet there was peace and good order in the settlement. Now, however, they had to be introduced to a new way of life. Most of the original grantees were dead by 1843 (in 1831 thirty-two of the forty-eight of the original settlers of 1790 were still living), and this eased somewhat the difficulties of the transition.

The transition would have been easier if ecclesiastical jurisdiction had followed the international boundary, as was customary; American Madawaska would then have become part of the diocese of Boston and the curious situation whereby some of the Maine Catholics were in the diocese of Fredericton and the others in the diocese of Boston would have been avoided. This would not have displeased the Madawaskans who asked in 1843 to be incorporated into the Boston diocese. For all their quiet ways they loved to make petitions which were usually ignored. But the petition was too late in any case, for Rome had acted during the previous year.

Rome's administration of Madawaska is puzzling. In 1829 the Madawaska district became part of the diocese of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, but the bishop was unable to care for the Madawaskans and so the Bishop of Quebec continued to supply the priests for the Madawaska churches. This situation continued until 1842. Then, on September 30, 1842, forty days after the United States Senate had approved the Webster-Ashburton treaty whereby the land south of the St. John became American soil, Rome established the new diocese of Fredericton, comprising the province of New Brunswick. The entire Madawaska district, American as well as British, was assigned to this new diocese. This confusion was compounded in 1860. A new diocese was established in New Brunswick. The northern part of the province was taken from the diocese of St. John (the see had been moved from Fredericton in 1852) and given to the new see of Chatham. But only the British section of Madawaska was assigned to the new diocese; American Madawaska remained part of the St. John's diocese. This arrangement, of course, offered all sorts of troubles and in the end the Bishop of Chatham became the Vicar-General for American Madawaska and ministered to the entire district. All this confusion could have been solved in 1842 by assigning American Madawaska to the diocese of Boston. It is true, of course, that Bishop Fenwick and his successor were in no position to supply priests for the district. But they could have arranged with the Bishop of Quebec to service the Madawaskans as easily as the Bishop of Charlottetown. It is rather obvious that the administrators in Rome were weak in American geography, and there remains a strong suspicion that they were following the advice of those who did not want to see the Madawaskans under the spiritual jurisdiction of an American diocese. Rome was informed annually about this unsatisfactory situation, for Bishop Fenwick, starting in 1844, included in his statistics for the Catholic directory the fact that the two churches in the Madawaska district were attended by priests from Quebec. Both Bishop Fitzpatrick and Bishop Bacon continued to do so, and a reader of the annual would assume that Madawaska was under the jurisdiction of the Boston and then the Portland see. This curious situation perdured until 1870 when all the interested bishops were in Rome for the Vatican Council. Then Rome finally assigned American Madawaska to the diocese of Portland. But from the start the Madawaskans living south of the St. John were Maine Catholics and they have remained an important segment of the Catholics in the diocese of Portland.

Maine did not wait until Rome acted to introduce the Madawaskans to the American way of life. Fortunately Kavanagh knew a man well qualified for this task: James Cottrill Madigan. Kavanagh selected him to establish schools in the Madawaska district and to introduce the Madawaskans to American laws and ways of life. It was a happy choice, for this young man, only twenty-three, was the ideal American Catholic layman, and he was starting his career, one that would equal that of Edward Kavanagh's, when Kavanagh was nearing his untimely death. Madigan was another link between the Irish Catholic community on the Damariscotta and the French Catholic community on the St. John. For James Cottrill Madigan, born in Damariscotta, was a grandson of Matthew Cottrill.

3

PIONEER PRIESTS AND PROJECTS

THERE WAS a woeful lack of priests in Maine during the first half of the nineteenth century, but there was no lack of color among the few who labored there. This was especially true of the first two priests appointed pastors in Maine. Both were Irishmen, the first Irish-born priests to work in Maine, and they fortunately started their work at the time their countrymen were arriving in a steady flow, singly or in small groups. Many of them came into Maine from the British maritime provinces, New Brunswick in particular, as by-products of the timber trade. They secured passage to the provinces on vessels sailing for a cargo of lumber and were free agents after the ship was loaded. Usually they did not tarry long in the British provinces before heading for the States. The more fortunate might obtain a passage on the vessels that visited the Maine ports, like Bristol, but most of them walked and worked their way towards Boston. Some of them decided to settle in the coastal towns visited during this trek, and soon there were clusters of Irish in these towns. Maine's earlier Catholic churches were built where the larger groups of these migrant Irish settled, and the first of these churches were built under the guidance of the two Irish-born priests: Dennis Ryan and Charles Ffrench. These churches are fairly reliable markers of the route from St. John to Boston.

1. DENNIS RYAN AND THE SHEEPSCOTT VALLEY (1818-1846)

Father Dennis Ryan was appointed pastor of St. Patrick's in Damariscotta Mills by Bishop Cheverus in October, 1818. He was the first resident pastor in Maine, excepting, of course, the Indian missionaries and Bishop Cheverus who, as we have mentioned, entered into an agreement with the Catholics of Newcastle and Damariscotta to avoid future trouble with the Massachusetts law regulating marriages. Ryan spent nearly a quarter of a century in Maine with his residence in Whitefield, established shortly after his appointment. This was a record that remained long unsurpassed, and when one considers the quick rotation of priests in dioceses like Boston which had to depend on European priests during their formative years, this was a remarkable record. But Dennis Ryan was a remarkable man. Had he not succumbed when he was past middle age to the Irish impulse to wander and to the lure of the West, his record in Maine would have been much more impressive. Even so, his name is linked with the important Catholic center which developed in the Sheepscott Valley during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.

Dennis Ryan was a prisoner when he arrived in the port of Boston in the fall of 1814, one of the passengers on a Canadian bound British ship captured by an American privateer. This was an unintended but novel way of getting to the United States. He had spent one year at a seminary (Carlow College, Ireland) and had received the tonsure, a clear indication of his intention to be a priest. We are told that a strong desire to devote his life to the spiritual needs of his exiled countrymen drove him to this country, and if this was so one finds it difficult to discover the reasons for his choice of means to this end. Withdrawing from the seminary was not the logical step. But passage on a ship to Canada and capture by an American privateer were the quickest way of getting to America in 1814 with war raging between the United States and England. This, however, was Irish luck and not planned. Since Bishop Cheverus offers us the information that Ryan's talents were "not brilliant," one is inclined to conjecture that his withdrawal from the seminary was dictated from above. But Dennis Ryan wanted to be a priest, and Cheverus, hard pressed for priests with a talent for hard work under adverse circumstances, accepted him in the spring of 1815. He completed his studies in the Bishop's rectory under the watchful eyes and scholarly directions of Father Matignon and Bishop Cheverus. He was ordained a priest on Trinity Sunday, May 30, 1817, by Bishop Cheverus in the Franklin Street Cathedral, the first priest ordained in Boston, indeed the first in all New England. Cheverus was deeply grateful for the turn of events that brought young Ryan to his rectory in the spring of 1815, for he was deeply discouraged at the time from the failure of other prospects for the priesthood, American-born youths with great promises, to persevere.

Cheverus kept the "mild mannered" Ryan with him in Boston for a year after his ordination as an assistant to the aging and sickly Father Matignon, in reality another year of training in pastoral theology. Before he was ordained, the bishop had decided on his work. He would be an Indian missionary, he informed Propaganda in a letter dated February 7, 1817, replacing Father Romagné who had decided to return to France the next year. But the plans were changed during the year. He finally decided to send him to the Catholics of Newcastle and Damariscotta, at last fulfilling a desire and promise of long standing to assign a resident priest to St. Patrick's. So in the spring of 1818 the first priest ordained in Boston went to the first church built in Maine. Father Ryan found the change to his liking, and he discovered the bishop had a nice gift for him to speed him on the way. He gave him a hundred dollars, an ordination gift from one of the bishop's friends but wisely retained until he had real need for it. "Once on a mission this sum will be very useful to him," Cheverus told the friend. On

May 1, 1818 he celebrated his thirty-second birthday with the Kavanaghs and was now in the position he had ambitioned years ago, – to serve the spiritual needs of his exiled countrymen. His task was to carry on the pioneer work of Bishop Cheverus in this area. Dennis Ryan adjusted himself quickly and affably to this Catholic colony; he is "doing very well, being loved and respected by all," Bishop Cheverus wrote to a friend in the fall of 1818.

Damariscotta was not long his residence. The older Catholic settlers of this town and Newcastle, the Kavanaghs, Cottrills, Hanleys, and Madigans, had preempted the better lands (Kavanagh and Cottrill had acquired 567 acres by one purchase in 1795), and so the more recent Irish immigrants gravitated towards Whitefield and Windsor on the Sheepscott River where good land was cheap. Ryan decided to move to Whitefield, about ten miles away, in order to be in the midst of this growing community, a decision that must have pained the Catholics of St. Patrick's who had waited so long and so patiently for a resident priest. The decision is not easy to understand, but it surely had the approval of Bishop Cheverus. It was one of the unfortunate aspects of this Catholic colony on the banks of the Damariscotta that its size, after the first sudden growth, remained stationary because, it would seem, the large land holdings of the pioneers dissuaded other immigrants from settling there.

Once established in Whitefield, in the home of a parishioner, Father Ryan was soon at work on a church and a rectory. The latter was delayed until the site of the former was settled. The choice was between North Whitefield and Windsor, for the majority of the Catholics were located in or between these two towns. An opportunity to acquire a satisfactory lot in North Whitefield decided the issue. The pastor was mechanical minded and deft with his hands and was not averse to using them and teaching others how to hew, frame a building and make bricks. The church was started in 1819 and the rectory about the same time, and it would seem that he devoted more loving care to the latter, for Bishop Fenwick has described the church as a "miserably built" wooden building. The rectory was a large, two story brick house with a fireplace in nearly every room. The church was blessed on June 30, 1822 by Bishop Cheverus, the last visit of this great man who did so much to establish the Catholic faith in Maine. When he went to say his last good-byes to his dear friends of St. Patrick's the sorry contrast between the new church in Whitefield and the neat brick church at Damariscotta Mills must have added more grief to his heavy heart. However, he had found everything in good order in North Whitefield and was pleased with the good work done by Father Ryan and the devotion of the people to their new pastor. Evidently it was the priest and not the bishop who selected the name for the church, the second church built in Maine; it was called St. Dennis, with a double "n" as he spelt it. Later, after he had departed, they dropt one of them. In retrospect the Catholics of St. Dennis' were grateful that their first church was a cheap frame building, for so rapidly did the Catholic population of the district grow during the 1820's the church was far too small by 1832 and another had to be constructed.

The increase of Catholics in this area was quite spectacular. Maine was a popular state during the 1820's, surpassing all other New England states in population increase. The Irish contributed to this record, and the sudden growth of Irish Catholics in the vicinity of Whitefield is evidence of the contribution. There were no more than five Catholics in the town in 1812. Four years later when Bishop Cheverus visited there, he offered Mass in an overcrowded cabin, gave Holy Communion to eighteen, publicly received the renewal of faith from two lapsed Catholics, preached in the afternoon to a large crowd in an unfinished barn, and ended the day by baptizing five babies. In 1832, when Bishop Fenwick made his second visit, St. Dennis' had a congregation of over twelve hundred souls. The bishop was pleasantly surprised to discover that here in the Sheepscott valley was one of his biggest parishes and that the

Catholics were farmers with prosperous looking farms, well cultivated orchards, comfortable homes, and with a fine tradition of hospitality.

Father Ryan obviously attracted the Irish to Whitefield and Windsor. Until 1826, when Father Ffrench was assigned to Eastport, he was the only Irish priest in Maine, and the migrant Irishman would hear about him and the Irish colony as soon as he reached the Maine border. He would know, too, that he would be welcomed there, for Father Ryan had initiated a policy that was designed to attract them. Ryan found some sort of work for the newcomer around the rectory or farm until he was in the position to establish himself in the locality. Bishop Fenwick also advised the Irish he met on his travels in Maine to move to Whitefield; he tells us about one group discovered in a crowded room near the wharves in Bristol during his journey of 1827, and how he purchased food for them immediately and told them they would be better off if they moved to Whitefield. This, we may be sure, was not an isolated case. As we shall see, the full import of the Whitefield colony was not impressed on Bishop Fenwick until he visited in 1832. Then it was, when he spent three or four days during July visiting their farms and homes and on Sunday, July 15, confirming seventy-five from Whitefield and the neighboring towns, that he realized he had the best solution to the problem of the Irish immigrant: a farming colony with a resident priest.

Only St. Dennis' itself grieved the Bishop. The shabby wooden building, the contrast now underscored by the fine rectory surrounded with well ordered barns and orchards, disturbed him and he urged pastor and parishioners to construct a more worthy church. They responded with alacrity, for they were now in the position to do so. They were aided, too, according to a family tradition by the Smithwick money; in 1824 Father Ryan had become legal guardian of Francis and James Smithwick, sons of the wealthy widow, Mrs. James Smithwick, whose marriage in 1800 in the Kavanagh mansion had nearly introduced Father Cheverus to the tortures of a Puritan pillory.

The new church was built on the same site and within two years they had a brick church that compared favorably with St. Patrick's. In the spring of 1834, a traveller passing through Whitefield observed the new construction and has told us that:

> The Catholics of Whitefield, in the state of Maine, have already their new church roofed in, which will be completed without delay. They have indeed done themselves much credit in the size and solidity of the building which they have undertaken, and which we are informed is one of the largest in the state.

It was blessed August 10, 1838.

Ryan, of course, did not confine himself to North Whitefield. His missions, as the *Catholic Directory* for 1838 informs us, embraced a considerable tract of the neighboring country. At the beginning of his pastorate this could be described as the towns between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, with Bangor as the north-eastern extreme. He made occasional visits to Portland, a natural stop on his way to and from Boston, before Father Ffrench resided there (1827). But his regular missions were Augusta, Gardiner, Bath, Wiscasset, Waldoboro, Thomaston, Bucksport, and Damariscotta. With an increasing congregation at Whitefield and the only priest in this area (the nearest prior to 1828 would be the missionary at Oldtown Indian Island when one was there) the visits to these towns were rare. Even St. Patrick's, ten miles away, was visited only "occasionally."

The occasional visits to St. Patrick's is a clear indication of the shift of the center of Catholics from the Damariscotta to the Sheepscott, but Damariscotta Mills still remained one of the scheduled stopping places of the bishop on his visitations to Maine, for the Kavanagh home was still there and in this home not only hospitality but strong support and needed assistance awaited him. Bishop Fenwick made his first visit to the Kavanagh home in the summer of 1827. He had started this trip, his first visitation of this part of his diocese, with calls on the Indians, first to Pleasant Point and then to Indian Island, and thence he journeyed to Damariscotta Mills "arriving at the respectable and amicable Mr. Kavanagh's home" at seven o'clock in the morning. This was probably their first meeting, although both had heard much of each other; it was their only meeting, too, for James Kavanagh died the next summer, June 3, 1828, at the age of seventy-two. America had been good to him, and he in turn had been good to that part of America he loved best, the banks of the Damariscotta, and to the Catholics living on the river's banks. And his eldest son was now in the position to carry on the good tradition.

The day of their first meeting Edward Kavanagh had taken the bishop to see St. Patrick's. No doubt Fenwick was reminded of the St. Patrick's he and Father Anthony Kohlmann had built in New York and which Bishop Cheverus had consecrated on Ascension Thursday, 1815. Fenwick regretted that "there were so few Catholics" now attending St. Patrick's that Father Ryan "could attend only one Sunday a month." Ten years ago it was the reverse; Father Ryan was a resident priest at St. Patrick's and North Whitefield was the mission. That evening the bishop went to North Whitefield to spend five days with Father Ryan and the Catholics of St. Dennis'. On August 7 he returned to the Kavanagh home. He had some business to talk over with Edward Kavanagh. He dined with Edward and Edwin Smith, "a very intelligent man and a friend of young Mr. Kavanagh, as well as of the Catholics at large, though a Protestant." The two young men talked to Bishop Fenwick about their prospects in the coming election. Both were seeking seats in the state senate. Kavanagh was now in politics; in 1825 he had been elected to the lower house, the first Catholic elected to a New England state legislature, and in the fall of 1826 had sought a senate seat but had been defeated. Now he was trying again, and Fenwick told him at dinner that evening that, if they were elected, he planned to persuade the legislature to pass some bills favorable to the Indians. Later the bishop received the good news that Kavanagh had been elected, again the first Catholic to be elected to the upper house of a New England legislature. From this visit until his untimely death in 1844, Edward Kavanagh was a friend and adviser of Bishop Fenwick. That evening, before departing for Portland, the bishop called on Matthew Cottrill, the other founder of St. Patrick's. This was also the last meeting with Cottrill, for he died the next year, on April 20, a few weeks before his friend, James Kavanagh.

When the bishop next visited St. Patrick's, in the summer of 1832, the number of Catholic families had declined to four or five. There were many more than that, the bishop noted, in Bristol. What had happened to the large numbers, many of them converts, mentioned by Cheverus? Had they moved away or had they returned to their former churches from lack of constant care? Some had moved, no doubt, and some had returned to their former faith, but the numbers attending St. Patrick's in Bishop Cheverus' days should not be credited entirely to Newcastle and Damariscotta. They came from the nearby towns and many of them would now be attending St. Dennis'. A mass at St. Patrick's by a bishop could still attract a large crowd, as Bishop Fenwick discovered. He offered Mass there on July 1 and there was a grand attendance, some coming twenty miles to see the bishop. It was like that when Cheverus visited.

Like those before him Bishop Fenwick evidently became very fond of St. Patrick's and the few Catholic families there, and he promised on this occasion to send them a resident priest. It could well be that they thought they should see Father Ryan more often. In any case it was a promise dictated by a heart full of appreciation for what these pioneer Catholics had done and were still doing for the good of the Church in Maine, for it would be difficult to justify two resident priests within ten miles of each other with so many Catholics throughout New England in urgent need of priestly care. When the bishop prepared the statistics for the 1833 *Directory* he was mindful of the promise and added "vacant" beside St. Patrick's. He was never in the position to meet his promise, however. The 1834 edition notes that the church was attended "occasionally" by Father Ryan, and subsequent editions carry the same notation. Not until 1931, one year short of a century after Bishop

Fenwick's promise, did St. Patrick's have its first resident priest. Yet the small, stationary Catholic population in these two towns has had one happy recompense. There was never any need to build a larger church, and since Kavanagh and Cottrill built well, the neat brick church has survived a century and a half as the parish church and is now the oldest Catholic church in New England.

The growth was slow and painful even in the larger towns of this district. There is no doubt that during the 1820's and 1830's many Catholics settled in the towns on and between the Kennebec and the Penobscot. The tendency was to settle or to move to these larger towns where the construction of canals, dams, pioneer industries and, later, railroads offered the Irish opportunities for work. But even here, where the concentration of Catholics was relatively heavy, the construction of a church or even the acquisition of a building for worship was snail-like. If it was not the paucity of Catholics that delayed them, it would be their poverty, or the lack of a priest or the lack of interest by a priest. The contrast in the drive and determination between the Catholics of the farming colony of Whitefield and the Catholics in the industrial and shipping towns is sharp.

Not until the middle of the 1830's were two new churches added to this area: Augusta in 1836 and Bangor in 1838. These churches eased somewhat the burdens of the pastor of St. Dennis'. The Bangor church, St. Michael's, was not the work of Ryan. The Catholic colony in Bangor had mushroomed in the early 1830's; there was scarcely a score there in 1830 and nearly a thousand, according to Bishop Fenwick, in 1836. Bangor on the beautiful Penobscot was, if we accept the authority of a gazetteer, a health resort at this time, noted for the purity of its air and water, – indispensable requisites of good health and longevity. It was, however, neither the invigorating air nor the exhilarating water which attracted the Irish to the town. Bangor, by the end of the 1830's had become the largest lumber depot in America, and the lumber trade offered the Irish a living. They would attend Mass at Indian Island when a missionary was in residence, and it was Father James Conway, the Penobscots' pastor from 1831 to 1835, who purchased a lot for a church in 1833. The next year Bishop Fenwick assigned Father Patrick McNamee to push the construction of a church. But he made little progress and was replaced in April, 1836, by Father Michael Lynch. Under his direction St. Michael's was completed in 1838 and dedicated November 10, 1839; it was also too small for the burgeoning Irish community.

Progress in Augusta, where Father Ryan was the founder of the church, was slower. Selected as the site of the state capital in 1831, the construction of buildings for the state government and the building of the Kennebec dam that cost $300,000 had made Augusta a boom town. Most of the manual labor for these constructions was supplied by Irish immigrants. In May 1836 Bishop Fenwick gave Father Ryan approval for the purchase ($2000) of a substantial Unitarian church abandoned for a better site, and he sacrificed his cathedral preacher, Father John J. Curtin, so that the Catholics of Augusta might have a resident priest. But the priest did not appreciate the sacrifice, found the change and Augusta far from his liking, and after three months elected to leave the diocese rather than remain in Augusta. Father Patrick Flood, young and able, succeeded him and remained there until the 1837 depression hit the poor Catholics so hard they were unable to support a priest. Flood was removed to Portland, where a replacement for Father Ffrench was needed, and Augusta reverted to the status of a mission of Whitefield. Not until 1845 did a resident priest return, but the new pastor, Father Richard A. Wilson, was transferred (May, 1846) before he was ready to start the church on the lot purchased on State Street; he did not remain long enough to be listed in the annual directory as pastor in Augusta. So Augusta again became a mission of St. Dennis'. Construction on the church, however, continued and St. Mary's was opened for services in July, 1847. Augustans claim James

O'Reilly as their next resident pastor and he may have resided there at times, but his official residence was North Whitefield, with Damariscotta, Augusta, Gardiner, Bath, Thomaston, and Belfast as missions. They had to wait until 1856 for the return of a resident pastor, and with the arrival of Father Charles Egan, who remained in Augusta thirteen years, St. Mary's started the second phase of a long parish history.

Gardiner, about five miles below Augusta on the Kennebec and seven or eight miles west of North Whitefield, was another regular stop for Bishop Cheverus and Bishop Fenwick and was, like Augusta, a mission of St. Dennis'. As so frequently happened the development of the church here was greatly aided by a prominent Catholic family that gave the other Catholics a place for worship and a center of information and social gathering until they were able to hire a hall or build a church. In Gardiner it was the Esmond family.

Martin Esmond, a native of County Wexford like Kavanagh and Cottrill, settled in this town about 1810. He married Jean Stuart, and in their home Bishop Cheverus offered mass when he visited Gardiner. They had two sons, John, born in 1818, and Bernard, born in 1820 and baptized by Father Ryan on All Saints' Day. The Esmonds were one of the few Catholic families financially able to send their sons away for an education; both went to Montreal College, Bernard making the fall trip with a young lad from Boston, John Williams, who would later be the Archbishop of Boston. It was the older of the two, however, who was Bishop Fenwick's favorite, for John Esmond was attracted to the priesthood and when he started his studies at the seminary at Montreal the bishop was happy with the thought that the Catholics of Maine were at last providing him with vocations. The news, then, that the young seminarian had suddenly died in December of 1833 was a hard blow. It was an added shock to the young man's mother, for Martin Esmond had died January 19, 1832. The widow courageously kept on at Gardiner, operating a store on Water Street and continuing as a leader of the growing Catholics there.

In the late 1830's the Catholics of Gardiner, like other small groups in the Maine towns, were begging Bishop Fenwick for a resident priest. One gets the impression from the demands on the bishop that they did not see too much of Father Ryan. At least, like good Catholics they wanted to see a priest more often than they saw the pastor of St. Dennis'. But the bishop could only offer them promises to provide a priest as soon as possible. He knew that this would not be soon. However, on June 2, 1841 the bishop did have good news to convey to the Catholics of Gardiner through Mrs. Esmond. He was sending a priest to Augusta who would also attend them, and he was happy that they would now have a priest "nearer home" and he expected them to give their new pastor a hearty welcome. As we shall see, Father Ryan had been transferred from North Whitefield by this time, and the Catholics of Gardiner and of St. Dennis' probably were depending on a rare visit from the priest in Portland. This will explain Bishop Fenwick's use of the phrase "nearer home," since Augusta and North Whitefield were about the same distance from Gardiner. From our few observations on Augusta we know that the Catholics of Gardiner had to wait a few more years before welcoming their new pastor. And not until Portland became a diocese was the first Catholic church built in Gardiner. In 1856 Father Charles Egan, the pastor of St. Mary's in Augusta, at the urgings of the Gardiner Catholics purchased a lot for a church at the high price of two thousand dollars. This site, however, did not please Bishop Bacon and so another site was acquired on Lincoln and School Streets. Though this new site did not please some Protestants, others generously contributed to the church building fund. The foundations were started in May, 1858, and in October of that year the first Mass was offered in St. Joseph's. With considerable pride they acquired the furnishings for the church from money raised by fairs. Yet the Catholics of Gardiner waited five years (June 14, 1863) for its dedication by Bishop Bacon and they waited fourteen more years (August, 1877) for their first resident pastor.

Belfast, listed as one of the Whitefield missions, best illustrates the slow progress of the church in this area. By the 1820's it was a prosperous commercial town with regular sailing packets to and from Boston and frequent visits by ships from the British maritime provinces. The port was a likely stage for the Irish immigrant moving down the coast from New Brunswick. In his brief visit to the town in 1827, on his way from Eastport to Oldtown, Bishop Fenwick discovered two Irish families in a crowded room near the wharves. The bishop was moved by his experience and took the trouble to describe it in detail. Finding himself with a few hours at his disposal he went out in search of Catholics. He approached a woman who appeared to be Irish but who identified herself to the stranger with great reluctance. She hesitated long before admitting she was a Catholic (not aware that she was talking to a bishop) and directing him to a house where two families recently arrived were living. There he found from twelve to fourteen persons in one room: all were hungry and he purchased food for them immediately and told them he would be back soon to hear their confessions. They spread the word that a Catholic bishop was in town and when he returned "a pretty good number" was waiting for him. He heard their confessions, spoke to them about opportunities in this country for sober and industrious people, told them about Whitefield and advised them to go there. Many more Irish immigrants slipped quietly into Belfast, but they did not have the good fortune of meeting a bishop on their arrival and seldom did they see a priest after settling in the town.

Belfast was on the circuit made by Bishop Cheverus during his annual visits to Damariscotta and it became a mission under Father Ryan's care. We do not know how often Ryan visited and how many years it remained under his care. Not for long, it would appear. In a letter of September 26, 1832 Bishop Fenwick tells us that there were 150 Catholics in Belfast and they were visited about once a year by the priest at Indian Island; from this year onward Belfast was attended by priests from Indian Island, Bangor, and then Whitefield once again. Besides these occasional visits, now and then the Catholics were attended by a missionary, as happened in the fall of 1841 when Father Moyses Fortier of the Quebec diocese covered the Kennebec region to attend primarily to the Canadians in these towns. At Belfast he heard the confessions of twenty-three adults and of thirteen children. One can readily understand why many Catholics lost their faith under these conditions.

The loss would have been greater had not a young Irish immigrant, William S. Brannagan, settled in Belfast in the middle of the 1830's. He had a good position that gave him financial independence, he was respected by the townfolks, he was a devout Catholic and his great ambition was to see a respectable Catholic church built in this town. He became a lay curate for the priests who had charge of the Catholics, making the arrangements prior to visits and watching over the group between visits. For several years Mass was offered in the home of one of the Catholics, and when the Catholics could no longer be accommodated in a room, a hall was hired for the services. In 1851 Brannagan purchased a small building that was converted into the Catholic church and it served the Catholics for about twenty years, although it was far too small for many of those years. When this church was abandoned (it remained Brannagan's property) in 1870, the Catholics again had to hire a hall – Johnson's Hall, and for another fifteen years this was the "Catholic Church" of Belfast. During these years Belfast was a mission of many different churches. First it was served by Father Ryan and his successors; shortly after the Jesuits came to Maine in 1848 Belfast was assigned to them;[1] when Ellsworth became a parish (1862), Belfast became one of its missions; then it became a mission of Rockport (1870-1877), and after that a mission of Winterport.

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[1] There is a curious mistake about Belfast in the *Catholic Directory* for 1847. It is listed first as a mission of Whitefield and then as a mission with a new church under the care of Fr. John Boyce, stationed at Eastport. This duplication is repeated in the next four editions (1848-1851).

Meanwhile Brannagan was hoping to see a church built and was willing to contribute generously towards it. On two different occasions priests and parishioners started to build the church; first, when it was a mission of Rockport and Father M. C. O'Brien was pastor, the money for a church was pledged under the leadership of Brannagan, but Father O'Brien was transferred, and the project was abandoned and the money collected returned to the donors. Then, when Belfast became a mission of Winterport and Father Jeremiah McCarthy was pastor, another attempt was made. It was during McCarthy's first year as pastor that Bishop Healey came to confirm (October 7, 1877) a class of about forty in the local Opera House, hired for the occasion. This was the first confirmation ceremoney in Belfast, – twenty-two years after the arrival of the first bishop. Bishop Healey's visit was an incentive to the church builders and the plans were revived; late in 1878 Brannagan purchased the site for the church that would cost, according to plans, ten thousand dollars. Completion was expected within a year, but the project failed when Father McCarthy was transferred (1879). Not until May, 1891 was the church started. It was completed in 1894, and then Belfast became a parish with a resident priest. By the grace of God, Brannagan lived to see his dreams realized; it took about fifty-five years and much of his money to do it. Parishes grew slowly in Maine.

This brief account of the Belfast Catholics underscores the many factors involved in the slow growth. One can see, too, why the loss of faith among the Catholics of this town must have been heavy. Only souls strong in the faith can survive year after year on a monthly Mass, on little, if any, contact with a priest between these monthly visits, and in an atmosphere that frequently belittled the Catholic religion.

Father Ryan has been lost while recording the development of Whitefield's missions. But the sad fact is that Whitefield had lost Father Ryan. He was first transferred to Providence and Taunton, then journeyed to Illinois and Iowa, and returned to

Whitefield for two years, and finally went west, settling in Lockport, Illinois, in the diocese of Chicago. The conflicting statements in the available sources make it difficult to record with any finality where and why he moved during these years of 1841-1846.

In 1841 Ryan was transferred to Providence. On sound authority we are told he requested a transfer, but the reason is not disclosed. One would assume that only a compelling reason would persuade him to request a transfer from the parish he had labored so successfully to develop and from his comfortable rectory with its well pruned orchards. He was no longer young; he was fifty-five on May 1, 1840. Possibly he thought he could cure the spirit of restlessness that eventually overcame him by a change of scenery. We know he left St. Dennis' in 1841 and was pastor of the new parish of St. Patrick's in Providence in September of this year. He had attended the cornerstone ceremony of this church on July 13, with Bishop Fenwick presiding, but as a visitor, it seems, for the report of the affair lists him as Father Ryan of Whitefield, Maine. Supervision of construction was entrusted to the pastor of Pawtucket. But in September Father Ryan was appointed pastor and in charge of construction. The appointment gave him more than a change of scenery, for the Catholics of Providence differed sharply on the wisdom of establishing another parish, and the pastor of the only church in the city was one of the opponents. That was the reason why the construction of the new church was assigned to the pastor of the Catholics of Pawtucket.

It is quite probable that Father Ryan now became the innocent victim of the severe measures that Bishop Fenwick was compelled to take to put an end to the parish squabbles and factions, some of them scandalous, that plagued the diocese during the early 1840's. The bishop was an old hand at this sort of trouble, for when he was President of Georgetown University Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore called on him in October, 1818, to dissolve the dissensions among the Catholics of Charleston, South Carolina. In any event, early in January, 1842, Dennis Ryan and William Wiley, the pastor of St. Mary's in Taunton, exchanged parishes. The Catholics of Taunton disapproved of the move and in a manner that was typical of these times manifested their feelings. As one chronicler of the events observed:

> The people made a great ado over Father Wiley's departure, and would have nothing to do with the new-comer. They held a meeting denouncing him, but he declared that he intended to stay as long as the pump gave him water, or he had the means to buy bread.

This attitude soon passed and they wrote a letter of thanks to their bishop for sending them Father Ryan, but this was the kind of treatment that would send a man back to the quiet of Whitefield or fix him in his resolve to go west. It appears that it turned his mind westward, for he was replaced at Taunton at the end of the year and in 1843 he and his niece, Mary Ryan, left Boston for Dubuque, Iowa.

This trip with his niece in the summer of 1843 has been described as a vacation. It was not. He had already decided to go west, and before his departure he had received Bishop Fenwick's permission to leave the diocese and had been accepted by Bishop Pierre Loras of Dubuque. The trip had the appearance of a vacation because Ryan did return to Whitefield sometime in 1844 and then departed again for the west, this time to the diocese of Chicago, settling at Lockport, Illinois. It is an exchange of letters between Edward Kavanagh, then Governor of Maine, and Father Ryan that clarifies the first departure, and we shall give the letters as they appeared in the *Boston Pilot*, July 8, 1843.

It will be noticed that Kavanagh gives the impression that Father Ryan was still the pastor of St. Dennis' and had not been absent for two years or so. It could well be that Ryan did return to Whitefield early in 1843, after he had been replaced at Taunton. We know he had been away, first in Providence (not Pawtucket as the *Directory* states) and then in Taunton. Kavanagh's letter has no date as printed in the *Pilot*, but Father Ryan's was written in Boston on June 15, 1843, and we can assume that there was not a long delay before the answer was penned. In June, 1843, then, the Catholics of St. Dennis' and St. Patrick's knew that their pastor intended to go west and their spokesman, Governor Kavanagh, made one last appeal to him to change his mind.

> To the Rev. Dennis Ryan: – Sir, – We have heard with extreme regret that the Catholics in this vicinity are in danger of losing the benefit of the pastoral labours that with patience and disinterested zeal you have discharged among us for twenty-five years past. Whatever may be the result of your final determination in this respect, it is but justice to declare now that those of us who during that period have had occasion to ask your pastoral offices in behalf of themselves and their friends for the administration of the sacraments of the church and the consolation of religion, must ever have reason to be grateful for the zeal and kindness that you have invariably manifested.
>
> Attached to your person from all these considerations and revering your character for your virtues, we are unwilling to have you go from among us and we still hope that for the benefit of this scattered church you may, after further consideration on the subject, determine not to sever the connexion that has so long subsisted between us. We are, Sir, with sentiments of profound respect and sincere affection, your obliged servant,
>
> Newcastle, Me. Edward Kavanagh

Father Ryan delayed his answer until the day before his departure. By the time Kavanagh received it the priest and his niece were on their way to Iowa. His letter does support the claim that the decision was dictated by his relatives who were seeking better opportunities. If he "were to consult" his own feelings, he would continue his work at Whitefield.

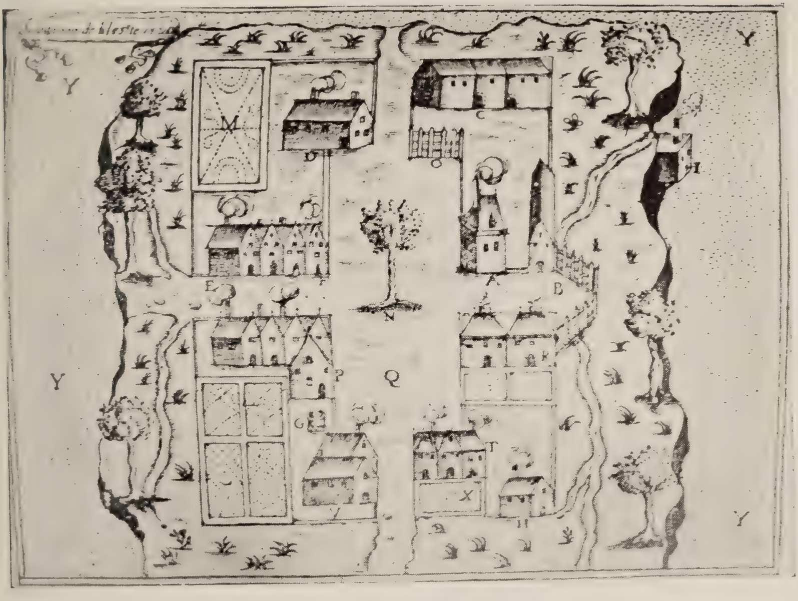
> To the Hon. Edward Kavanagh: – Sir, – I have received your very kind letter, in which you express a desire that I should return to, and continue in my late mission. Believe me, dear sir, that, if I were to consult my own feelings and the esteem in which I hold you and my other friends in Whitefield and vicinity, nothing would be more agreeable to my mind. But since I have accepted an invitation from the venerable Bishop of Dubuque, to administer to the spiritual wants of my fellow christians in that diocese, with the consent and approbation of my own Venerable and much beloved bishop, I leave here tomorrow morning, and hope that my ministry may be more useful.
>
> Whatever my labors have been among you, they have been rendered light and agreeable by the many marks of kindness and

> affection, which, in our social intercourse, you have invariably manifested towards me.
>
> Respectfully yours, &c.
> Boston, June 15, 1843. Dennis Ryan.

Neither Kavanagh nor the bishop expected Ryan to return. That is clear from a notation in the bishop's Memorandum under June 26, 1843: "The Governor is anxious also to have a priest sent as soon as possible to replace Revd. Ryan at Whitefield." But Ryan did return to Whitefield sometime during 1844. In the *Directory* for 1845 and 1846 he is listed as the pastor of St. Dennis' with missions in Newcastle, Augusta and Gardiner.

During his absence St. Dennis' was, according to the annual directories, under the care of the Rev. J. O'Beirne for 1842 and 1843 and of the Rev. Patrick O'Beirne for 1844. It is confusing enough to find these two priests of the Boston diocese assigned in successive years to Whitefield, but to discover that both were also elsewhere compounds the confusion. This is only an indication, however, of the many quick changes made by Bishop Fenwick during these years, and an annual was not an adequate record book to chronicle the changes. Both John and Patrick O'Beirne no doubt spent some time at Whitefield. However, Father John O'Beirne succeeded Father Ryan at Taunton late in 1842 and remained there until 1846; Father Patrick O'Beirne was assigned to St. Dominic's, Portland, early in March of 1842, and in the absence of a priest covered Whitefield and its mission. St. Dennis' was without a resident priest during most of these years until Father Ryan returned to Whitefield, sometime in 1844.

What happened at Dubuque? We do not know. Either his relatives failed to discover the opportunities they desired or Father Ryan consulted his own feelings and found that the diocese of Dubuque did not satisfy them. No doubt opportunities in other places were investigated and the Chicago area was eventually the choice. Now Father Ryan had to negotiate another transfer to the diocese of Chicago, and this could be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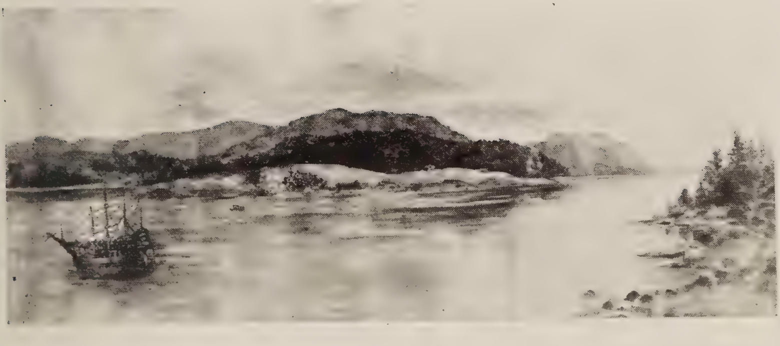
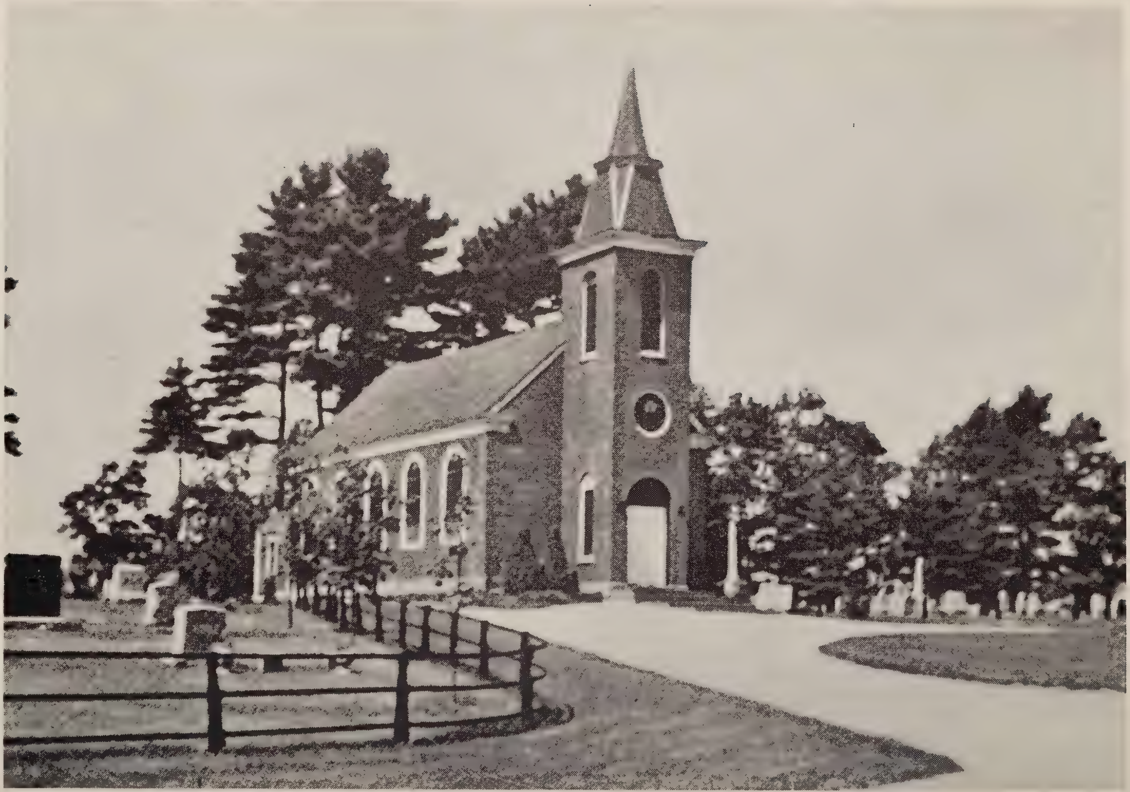
Plan of Champlain's settlement on Holy Cross Island.



The Mission of St. Sauveur (1613) on Mt. Desert Island.



St. Patrick's, Damariscotta, built in 1808 and now the oldest Catholic church in New England.

managed better from Boston than Dubuque. That probably explains his return to Whitefield. In any case, after a few years at Whitefield he transferred to the diocese of Chicago. He settled at Lockport, Illinois where he built a church. It was a frame church, like the first he built at Whitefield, and he named it, as one would expect, St. Denis. He had dropt one "n" by now. His name appears in the 1847 edition of the *Catholic Directory* and remains there until 1852. The last mention of him is quite laconic: "St. Denis, frame church, service one Sunday in the month. Rev. D. Ryan." He is not listed as serving any mission. He died that year in his brother's house.

One suspects that his declining years would have been happier ones if he had remained at Whitefield where he was needed and appreciated. He had done much for the pioneer Catholics of Maine, and it was during his visit of 1832 that Bishop Fenwick was convinced that a farming colony like the one at Whitefield was the solution to the Irish immigrant problem and inspired him to found one in Aroostook County. The origin of this new Catholic colony will be described later.

2. CHARLES FFRENCH AND THE MAINE COAST

The next two churches built in Maine, after St. Patrick's in Damariscotta and St. Dennis' in North Whitefield, were in Portland and Eastport. Both were started at the same time and by the same priest, Father Charles Ffrench, who was accepted into the Boston diocese in the fall of 1826 and was immediately assigned to Maine with the seacoast from Eastport to Dover, New Hampshire, as his mission. He first resided in Eastport, the gateway from the British maritime provinces to New England, but soon transferred his residence, if one can rightly assign a place of residence to this roving pastor, to Portland. This town, with its spacious harbor, was more central, was nearer to Boston, and attracted more permanent settlers among the Catholics moving to Maine. Portland's St. Dominic's was the first of the churches completed (1830) under the supervision of Father Ffrench.

Portland was a natural halting place for any traveller to and from Boston and Maine's coastal towns. Hence Father Cheverus, on his first visit to the Catholics of Damariscotta in the summer of 1798 (this was his second visit to Maine), stopt at Portland on his journey back to Boston. There apparently is no record of contacts with any Catholic on this brief, one day (July 24) visit, but we can be sure that inquiries were made, and thereafter Father Cheverus seldom failed in his annual trip to Maine to stop at Portland, either on his way to or from Damariscotta. Father Romagné was instructed to do the same, and on his visits of 1811, 1812, and 1815 baptized a few children. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, then, we have the beginnings of a Catholic colony in this seaport town. But the first noticeable increase came during the 1820's. In the spring of 1822 Bishop Cheverus, at their request, spent several days with them. There were forty-three Catholics there then, and before he departed the number was increased by two, — two converts by Bishop Cheverus. Later that year, he spent a week-end (July 13-14) with his little Portland flock, and this time a hall was hired for the occasion. Now Father Ryan was told to keep an eye on Portland and he regularly visited the town from 1822 to 1827, when Father Ffrench was appointed their pastor. By 1827 the Catholics of Portland numbered one hundred and twenty-five, a small, inarticulate group lost in the town's rapidly growing population of nearly 12,000.

Benedict Joseph Fenwick was then Bishop of Boston. He had been selected to succeed Bishop Cheverus, whose return to France on October 1, 1823 had saddened both Catholics and non-Catholics of Boston. More than two years after the departure, on November 30, 1825, Fenwick had arrived in Boston. He was American-born, from a Maryland family with respected colonial ancestry and he understood well the temper of the American people; he was also a Jesuit well known in ecclesiastical circles, of proven administrative ability, of cheerful disposition that made him easily approached, full of zeal and energy that were subtly imparted to his co-workers, and with a saving sense of humor. Shortly after his arrival in Boston he wrote to the Superior of the American Jesuits that the New England cod-fish was so tasty it would lure more Jesuits than he needed to his diocese where, as he says, there was "a wide field" for workers. This wide field was, of course, all New England where, in 1825, there were two diocesan priests, Father Dennis Ryan and his cousin, Father Patrick Byrne, and exactly nine churches. Four of these churches were, as we know, in Maine; four were in Massachusetts; one was in New Hampshire; three New England states had no Catholic churches.

Late in 1826, a year after he had taken possession of his see, Bishop Fenwick accepted into the Boston diocese two priests, the first additions to his original diocesan staff of two. Virgil Barber, S. J., was at Claremont, New Hampshire, but he was on loan. The two new priests, both Irish-born and from other dioceses, were Charles Ffrench and John Mahoney. Only Father Ffrench, who arrived in Boston in November, 1826, concerns us, for he was assigned to Maine and during his eleven years there increased the number of churches by two. The appointment of Bishop Fenwick was a turning point in this priest's life. If Bishop Cheverus had remained in Boston or had Rome appointed his choice, Father William Taylor, as his successor, Ffrench would never have been accepted into the Boston diocese and Maine Catholics would never have known this exciting personality. He was fifty-one when he came to Maine, having already had enough excitement during this half century to more than satisfy the desires of three normal persons. One can not appreciate this man's pioneering work in Maine without some knowledge of his past career, although only a glimpse of it can be related here.

He was an Irishman, the son of a prominent Galway Anglican clergyman, and he and his brother (who later became a Catholic Bishop), were converted to the Catholic faith before reaching the twenties. Charles Ffrench entered the Dominican Order, studied at Lisbon and was there ordained on December 21, 1799. He had a wealth of talent, possessed a striking personal appearance, but lacked the precious gift of common sense or sound judgment. Returning to Ireland a few years after ordination he conducted a private school with apparent success until, while he was in Lisbon, bankruptcy closed its doors and involved him in a heavy debt. The combination of debt and lack of common sense contrived to involve him in a succession of predicaments. The news of the unfortunate bankruptcy kept him in Lisbon for a year and rekindled, we are told, an old desire to labor among the Irish immigrants and the Protestants of America. Coupled with the old desire was the expectation to raise money to pay off his debt. This obviously was an escape, for no one could expect to pay off a heavy debt working among Irish immigrants in the United States.

On May 12, 1812, Father Ffrench sailed for the United States from Lisbon, in time to be caught in the war with England. He did not have Dennis Ryan's good fortune; he landed at St. John, New Brunswick. Accepted by the Bishop of Quebec he was assigned a huge mission field in New Brunswick and there labored with success until he displeased Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis and was deprived of his faculties. The cause of this rift is not clear, but Father Ffrench's outspoken opposition to French bishops in America appears to have been the basic irritant. The bishop's fixed resolve to prevent Ffrench from ever exercising his priestly functions in his diocese and his heavy correspondence with other ecclesiastics on the topic of Ffrench underscores the strong national antagonisms that weakened the administration of the Church in this country at that time.

Ffrench now moved to New York (1817-1822) where the prospects of being accepted, if that had not already been arranged, were promising since the new bishop of that city, John Connolly, was a Dominican and inclined to be sympathetic. Father Ffrench was accepted and was soon involved in another controversy and busy refuting charges that followed him from Quebec and New Brunswick. But this time he was on the bishop's side, and his opponent was Father William Taylor, another Irishman and like Ffrench a convert. The trouble was referred to Rome, and although Rome rejected the charges against Ffrench it was recommended, as the better way to end the litigation, that both priests withdraw from New York. Taylor went to Boston where he became the good friend of Bishop Cheverus and Ffrench could only return to St. John, New Brunswick to conduct a private school, tend a mortgaged farm with the hope of repaying that long standing debt, and write a vindication of himself to settle the score with his more recent acquaintances. The appointment of Bishop Fenwick was a turn for the better.

Indeed, the news that Fenwick was the new bishop of Boston was followed by better news: that Father Taylor, Bishop Cheverus' choice to succeed him, had decided to join his friend in France and that Virgil Barber, S.J., was in the Boston diocese with Bishop Fenwick. This was a marvelous concurrence of events. Benedict Fenwick had been instrumental in bringing Virgil Barber, a conscientious and highly intelligent Vermont-born minister, and his wife into the Catholic Church and later arranging for Barber to enter the Society of Jesus and his wife to become a Visitation nun (1816-1817). And it was Father Ffrench who accompanied Virgil Barber in the summer of 1818 to Claremont and who was instrumental in converting the Barber family (except the father, Daniel, who entered the Church later) and others in this village. His work at Claremont was an example of the good this talented priest could do. He was not unknown to Bishop Fenwick, and Virgil Barber could supply the deficiencies.

Father Ffrench was accepted into the diocese of Boston, and to make sure he had an ample field for his energies the Bishop assigned him to Eastport and the care of Catholics from thence to Dover. Eastport would please the priest, since he could keep an eye on his farm in St. John for he was still determined to pay off that debt. But Bishop Fenwick had a better reason; he wanted a priest near the Indians of Pleasant Point as a protection against designs on their faith. And Eastport was the gateway into New England for the Irish migrating to New England from the maritime provinces.

The building program did not get under way until Bishop Fenwick completed his first episcopal visitation of Maine in the summer of 1827. Fenwick brought with him some knowledge of the Maine Catholics, garnered from the reports and correspondence in the cathedral archives and supplemented by a verbal report from Virgil Barber who had spent nearly three months (October-December) of the previous year at the two Indian reservations and the two towns near them, Eastport and Bangor. He went to Eastport first, changing boats at Portland and arriving after a disagreeable and hazardous trip due to a heavy fog. He was glad to see Father Ffrench waiting for him, and together they proceeded to Pleasant Point where he offered Mass on Sunday, July 15, with many Protestants attending. Fenwick directed his remarks to them, and later in a letter recounting this trip he recalled that the Protestants had behaved well and that the Indians were exemplary, neither looking to the right nor the left. He adds this observation as if it was a phenomenon as pleasant as unexpected.

The bishop met on this occasion a gentleman who had been giving him considerable anxiety. He was the Reverend Elijah Kellogg, a Congregational minister, who three years previously had been appointed schoolmaster of the Passamaquoddy tribe by the state government. For nearly ten years now, since Romagné had returned to France, these Indians had been without the needed care of a priest except for infrequent and brief visits, and the presence of a minister among them was disturbing. Kellogg, however, disclaimed any efforts to proselytize. He was, then, confounded when the bishop confronted him with an article he had written claiming that he was in fact doing missionary work among the Indians. Kellogg's answer was far from satisfactory. Indeed in the nineteenth century it would have been strange for a minister engaged in education to avoid evangelizing. There was no pretended wall of separation between church and state then. Mr. Kellogg remained to worry the bishop, and the bishop left Pleasant Point resolved to obtain a priest for the Indians and financial aid from the government.

Fenwick returned to Eastport where the Catholics had gathered to meet him. The home of a Mr. Keenan was probably the meeting place; he had emigrated from Ireland when he was only eighteen, had married and had made his home the rectory and chapel for visiting priests. His wife was eagerly awaiting the bishop, for she was a convert and now she awaited confirmation from his hands. The bishop, in his talk to the Catholics, urged them to build a church. We know the names of some of the pioneer Catholics of Eastport who took the lead in building the first Catholic church in this town: Peter Gilligan, later a successful business man; the Sherlock brothers, John, Michael, James and William; John and Patrick Dee; Patrick Barry, the father of a large family which included John Barry, the first Maine native ordained for the Portland diocese. Before leaving, Fenwick received and accepted an invitation from some of the Protestants to preach to them in the Congregational church and he took this opportunity to explain the Catholic doctrine to them. He was a good preacher, New Englanders loved a good sermon, and the pulpit was still the best approach to the New England mind; such occasions also gave the Catholics a needed feeling of pride in their bishop.

From Eastport he went to the other Indian reservation on Indian Island, delaying at Belfast to say Mass for the few Catholics there, and then proceeding up the Penobscot. He was disturbed that these Indians were without a priest and resolved to remedy the situation as soon as possible. He remained with them several days, confirming eighty-nine and giving Holy Communion to one hundred and twenty.

As we have already noted, from Indian Island Bishop Fenwick went to Damariscotta and Whitefield, returning to

Damariscotta for a conference with Edward Kavanagh and Edwin Smith with whom he discussed the idea of state aid for the Maine Indians. He then went to Portland, stopping at Wiscasset and Bath on his way, and had a talk with the governor, Samuel E. Smith, about financial aid for the Indians. The bishop was not missing an opportunity to protect his friends.

The Catholics were increasing in Portland. There must have been well over two hundred Catholics there in the summer of 1827, for the bishop distributed Communion to 160 at the Mass offered on August 12. He observed, too, that there was a need for a church. For some time the Catholics had rented a room in a building in Market Square where they gathered faithfully every Sunday to say their prayers, following, no doubt, the detailed instructions Bishop Cheverus gave to groups of Catholics. The lay leader was John Crease, a native of Boston, who worked on the Portland newspaper. On this visit Crease introduced to Bishop Fenwick a young man who worked with him and with whom he had frequently discussed the Catholic faith. The young man was Josue Moody Young, of old New England stock. The next year he became a Catholic, baptized by Father Ffrench. He also became the first native of Maine to be a Catholic bishop.[1]

Saco was the last of the Maine towns visited. There were only a few Catholics here, but the prospects of a large mission were bright. His hopes centered around two converts, Dr. Henry B. C. Greene and Jonathan Tucker, and the expectation that an industry recently established in the town would attract Irish laborers. At the time of the bishop's visit, however, these prospects had been weakened by the unbecoming conduct of a priest. One can measure the hopes entertained by Bishop Fenwick by his decision to send early in 1827 the most recent addition to his diocesan clergy, Father Francis Boland, to Saco. Boland was, however, soon recalled. Now the bishop hurried there to see the two converts, offering Mass in Dr. Greene's home for them and the few other Catholics of the town. He still hoped that a church would soon be built there, but he evidently thought it better for Dr. Greene to move to Boston where one could be in close contact with the church and a priest. The doctor moved there later in this year and there he remained until his death in 1848.[1]

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[1] See the chapter on Maine converts for more on Young.

What Bishop Fenwick saw on this visitation persuaded him that it was time to build churches in Eastport, Portland, Saco and Dover. He told Father Ffrench to start working and the priest threw himself into the task with vigor. In the fall he was in Boston reporting to his bishop that building funds had been opened in all of the places except Saco, and he spent the next three months in and around Boston collecting funds. By the summer of 1828 the lots had been purchased and the cornerstone ceremonies held: in Eastport on April 29, in Dover on May 14, in Portland on June 13; before the year was over he had transferred his residence to Portland, but he was up and down the coast encouraging the builders. The three churches were sufficiently advanced before the year had passed for the celebration of Mass.[2]

The church in Portland was more costly than the one in Eastport. It was a brick building, at a fairly good location on the corner of State and Gray Streets where the land declines to the harbor and the wharves, and its total cost was close to $7,000, an enormous debt for the poor Catholics of this town. In an address commemorating Portland's centennial (1886) Bishop Healey paid tribute to John Fox for his courage in selling the lot to the Catholics and for his generosity to the building fund. Other Protestants contributed, too, and the Catholics of Boston helped out. Father Ffrench conducted four different drives there from 1828 to 1833 and collected nearly three thousand dollars for his three churches, and $1,300 of this sum, according to one source, was allotted to St. Dominic's. But

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[1] See the chapter on Maine converts for more on Greene.

[2] There is a disagreement on the year the lot for the Portland church was purchased, the construction started and services first held. Bishop James Healey, in his address commemorating Portland's centennial, said: "Commenced in 1829, the little church, though unfinished, was occupied for service in 1830." The *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*, VIII, 10 agrees with Healey. I have accepted the findings of Lord in *The History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, II, 69.

Father Ffrench himself was Portland's best benefactor; he sold his New Brunswick farm and in place of settling his old debt in Ireland loaned three thousand to the Catholics of Portland so they could pay off their creditors.

Despite the progress made during 1828 there was a long wait before the church was completed and dedicated. Father Ffrench, compelled to watch over two other constructions miles away and to collect money in Boston, was absent from Portland far too frequently to satisfy the Catholics and they did not hesitate to express their feelings. Bishop Fenwick, sympathizing with Portland's Catholics and understanding Ffrench's need to be absent, smoothed things over by spending a month there as their pastor at the end of 1830. St. Dominic's was dedicated August 11, 1833 in a simple ceremony with two visiting priests, William Wiley and Patrick McNamee, assisting the bishop and Father Ffrench.[1] There were now three hundred Catholics in the town, and considering their poverty they had good reason for being proud of their achievement.

After the ceremony Father Ffrench took another trip. But this time his Portland parishioners could not complain. He accompanied Bishop Fenwick to Norridgewock where a desire long nourished, a monument to Father Rasle and a memoir in vindication of his life and work, was partially realized. He had been too busy to finish the memoir and it had been postponed to a later date which would permit him to include an account of the monument. The acquisition of the land for the monument had been a problem. Bishop Fenwick wanted the monument placed where the Indian chapel stood and Rasle had died, but it was now in the hands of one who would not sell if aware of its use for such a purpose. He turned to Edward Kavanagh to negotiate the purchase and Kavanagh called on Norridgewock's friendly historian, William Allen, to acquire the right piece of property. This he did for one hundred dollars. Then Allen was entrusted with the construction of the monument. From the fall of 1832 until the monument was dedicated there was a frequent exchange of letters between these three men.[1] The bishop gave him exact details; he wanted a monument made of roughly hammered granite, a base four feet square and standing five feet, a shaft ten feet high, tapering gradually from three feet square to one foot and then sharply to a slender point that would hold a cross. He hoped Allen would be able to remain within the one hundred and fifty dollars he had available, – fifty of it raised by Kavanagh and the rest from his own purse.

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[1] The church in Dover, New Hampshire was completed first and was dedicated September 26, 1830.

August 23, the anniversary of Rasle's death, had been appointed the day of dedication. Bishop Fenwick had planned to dedicate St. Dominic's early in August and then make a visit to Damariscotta before he went to Norridgewock to examine the land and the monument. But Father Ffrench prevented these plans; he could not arrange for the dedication of the church until August 11. This meant, Bishop Fenwick told Edward Kavanagh, that his visit to St. Patrick's would have to be omitted this year, for he had "sufficient to occupy me in Portland" for a week after dedicating the church. He hoped, however, he would see Kavanagh at Norridgewock.

The ceremony in honor of Rasle attracted a huge crowd, five thousand according to the report of the event in *The Jesuit*. The writer of this report denied the rumor that the Mass by Father Ffrench was interrupted by the crowd, but there was some excitement when a branch of a tree with six persons on it fell into a part of the crowd, and one suspects that there were some present who did not approve of the ceremony. It was, nevertheless, a happy day for Bishop Fenwick even though the memoir was never published.

A biography of the Jesuit missionary, however, did soon appear. Rasle remained a challenge to the New England mind confronted with the compulsion to explain his death. Jared Sparks, editor of *The Library of American Biography*, had included him in the list of biographies and assigned the task of writing the biography to Convers Francis, a Unitarian minister of Watertown and later Harvard's professor of pulpit eloquence. It was published in 1845, the year before Bishop Fenwick's death. Although not exactly what the bishop had in mind the study did recognize the missionary's greatness. In the concluding pages of the biography there is a reference to the monument dedicated in 1833. Bishop Fenwick's desire that the project proceed quietly with him in the background had succeeded beyond expectation. He was not given any credit for the monument. According to Francis the idea of erecting a monument, a proposal "in which Protestants as well as Catholics were interested," was suggested by Dr. Jonathan Sibley of Union, Maine. The project was then "taken up by Mr. William Allen, of Norridgewock, and Edward Kavanagh, the latter of whom contributed one hundred dollars towards the expense." That this tribute to Rasle was arranged by Allen to appear as the work of a prominent Protestant is indeed a tribute to the diplomatic abilities of Norridgewock's town historian. As long as there was a monument it did not matter to the bishop who received the credit.

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[1] The letters of Kavanagh (5) and of Fenwick (6) to Allen on this monument are in the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

Father Ffrench did not return to Portland immediately after the ceremonies. He and Father Conway, the missionary at Indian Island who had brought some of the Indians to sing at the dedication of the monument, accompanied Bishop Fenwick up the Penobscot and then the Mattawamkeag River to inspect a possible site for the farming colony he planned to establish for the Irish immigrants. No doubt the Indians provided the transportation. It was a rough trip and fruitless, for the site was rejected. The bishop and Ffrench probably parted company after this rugged trip. Bishop Fenwick had to get back to Boston to prepare for his trip to Baltimore where the second Provincial Council was scheduled to begin on October 20. Father Ffrench probably visited Eastport to check on the progress of the church there.

The construction of the Eastport church had moved along slowly, although there were as many Catholics here (about 300) at this time as in Portland. But since Eastport was the gateway into New England many of the Catholics were only pausing on their way to other places, and trying to earn some money during the pause for their journey. A small, frame church was being constructed, fifty feet in length and thirty-two in width, about the same size as St. Patrick's in Damariscotta. Yet there were enough Catholics, settlers or transients, to warrant a resident priest. Indeed, it was an important post for a priest, for the newcomers needed directions; they could be told where the best prospects for Irish immigrants in New England were and where they could find a resident priest. And since Bishop Fenwick was now planning a Catholic colony in northern Maine for the Irish immigrants, the priest could direct them to this new settlement. Father Simon Walsh was assigned to Eastport in July, 1834. He did not stay very long; by March of the next year he had been transferred and was succeeded in June, 1835 by Father Francis Kiernan. Shortly after his arrival the church was finally dedicated, on July 19, 1835, more than seven years after the cornerstone ceremony. Obviously it was a very poor parish; it had been a struggle to build the church and more of a struggle to pay off the debt. Father Ffrench had allotted $500 of the Boston building fund to St. Joseph's, yet for many years after the dedication the parish still owed the carpenter who built both the church and rectory a sum of eleven hundred dollars. Yet from Eastport came the first Maine vocation to the Portland diocese: John E. Barry, born about a year after St. Joseph's was blessed.

The appointment of a resident pastor at Eastport now permitted Father Ffrench to concentrate on Portland and the nearby towns. Unfortunately this improved situation lasted only three years. The depression of 1837 hurt Eastport's shipbuilding industries and the Irish were the first to suffer. An energetic pastor would have suffered the inconveniences, but they were too much for Father Kiernan ("far from energetic") and he left the parish June, 1837, accepted the charge of Catholics in Canton and Randolph for a short term and then retired from the diocese. So the care of Eastport reverted to

Father Ffrench. It is from his reports of visits to Eastport that we know of the development of small clusters of Catholics in the towns north, west and south of Eastport. Evidently Catholics, looking for better opportunities during the 1837 depression, moved into these towns: Pembroke, Baring, and Calais to the northwest, Lubec, Prescott, and Machias to the south, and Dennysville in the west. The presence of small groups of Catholics in these towns underscored the urgency of having a priest at Eastport who would care for them. Not until 1840, however, did a resident pastor return to St. Joseph's, and then there was a rapid succession of them (five in ten years), until Father John Bapst, S.J., made Eastport the center of his mission activities in September, 1851.

The first of these five pastors established a friendly relationship between the town and the parish that was appreciated by his successors. Father John B. McMahon, who was entitled to be addressed as Doctor, nearly reached the status of town father during the brief stay of two years. The fact that he was a stout advocate of temperance was an invaluable asset, for there was no better approach to the respect of the Maine gentry at this time than support of this cause. The friendly relations established are clearly evidenced by McMahon's letter to the *Eastport Sentinel* when he received word from Bishop Fenwick that he had a new assignment. The pastor had used the *Sentinel*'s columns to promote the cause of temperance, now he used it to bid the people of Eastport farewell. In a letter dated September 23, 1842 he told them that his departure was not of his choice but one he must accept; he acknowledged the many kindnesses extended to him by the "kind inhabitants of Eastport, of different religious denominations;" he thanked the editor for the cooperation and space given him in the journal; he offered all his best wishes with the fond hope that "I may hear of the rising fame and prosperity of Eastport." The editor prefaced the letter with a few kind remarks. Father McMahon's going would be regretted by all, he informed his readers, for he had gained the friendship and esteem of the people during his two years with them by his "liberal and gentlemanly conduct." The promoters of temperance would miss him, too, for he had been "greatly instrumental in promoting the cause in this town and vicinity." Wherever he went Father McMahon would take with him "the friendly wishes of the people of Eastport."[1] One could not ask for more cordial relations between town and Catholic rectory, and Eastport and Father McMahon had shown others how easily it could be done.

The depression of 1837 was also a blow to the Catholics of Portland. But the next year they suffered a harder one. Father Ffrench, whom they had learned to love, had decided to return to Ireland to settle the debt that had haunted him these many years. We are not told how he intended to satisfy his creditor, but no doubt the Catholics of this parish had paid him some, if not all, of the three thousand dollars he had loaned them. They would miss him. Years later, when Bishop Healey gave his address marking the centenary of Portland (1886) and recalled the beginnings of St. Dominic's parish and the labors of Father Ffrench in this city, Catholics and Protestants were still fondly reminiscing about him. "Even now," the Bishop said, "the aged residents of Portland delight to tell of the genial and gentle manners which made Father Ffrench a universal favorite, in spite of the prejudices of those days."

Ffrench had an interest in every phase of life, and usually found the time to indulge it despite his frequent trips. We find him an ardent promoter of the *Emerald Isle,* a weekly published in Boston. This weekly was edited and published by George Pepper, a stout and excitable defender of the Irish with considerable short-term experience on many Irish-American journals, and Dr. John S. Bartlett, an able convert doctor with a temperament exactly the opposite of Pepper's. They had been the editors of the *Boston Pilot,* the successor of Bishop Fenwick's *The Jesuit,* and since the end of 1834 published by Patrick Donahoe and Henry L. Devereux. For some reason the two editors broke with the two publishers and decided to launch their own weekly. Donohoe decided not to compete with the new weekly and suspended publication of his journal two days after the first issue of the *Emerald Isle* appeared (January 5, 1837). It was really a journal devoted to the cause of Ireland, but during its brief existence it was the only journal in New England with Catholic news.

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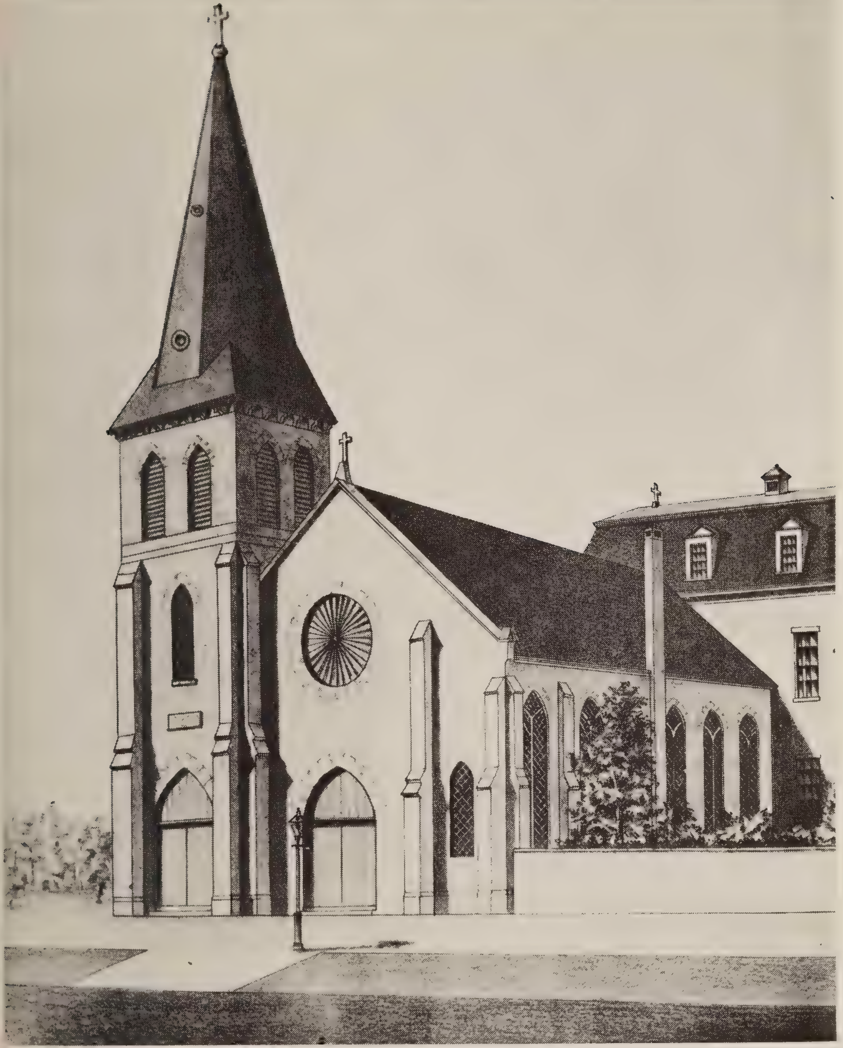
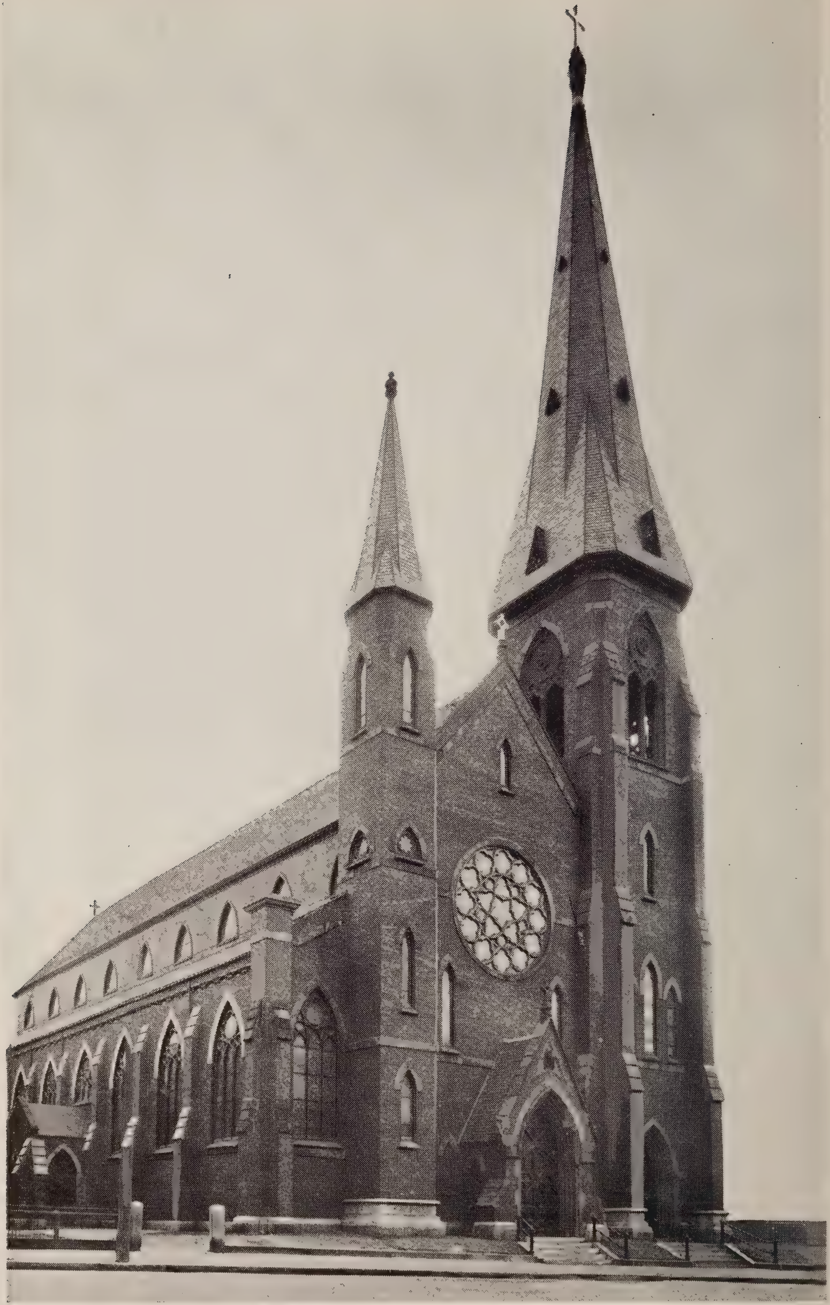
[1] The *Boston Pilot* for October 8, 1842 reprinted the letter and the editor's remarks.

Father Ffrench became an agent for the weekly in Portland, one of ten clerics listed in the January 21 issue "whose friendship we have tried, and in whose honor we have unlimited confidence." Pepper received strong clerical support in Maine, for among the ten clerical promoters of the weekly listed in this issue three were from Maine (Kiernan in Eastport and Michael Lynch in Bangor), whereas there were only two from Massachusetts (James Fitton in Worcester and J. D. Brady in Salem). We can be sure that the agency for this weekly was not the means by which Father Ffrench settled his old debt, but its columns do help us to identify some of the pioneer Catholics of Portland. In the February 11 issue he is thanked for forwarding the subscriptions of John Hagerty, William Murphy, Bernard McLaughlin, William Fitzgerald, Dennis O'Connell, and John Riordan. There would have been more if Pepper's venture had survived, but illness compelled him to suspend publication with the thirteenth issue (April 1, 1837), with the promise that publication would soon resume. It never did. Pepper died on the following May 11, and though his death was regretted in some circles it did allow Patrick Donohoe some months later to revive the *Pilot* (1838).

While Ffrench was making plans to return to Ireland he had the joy of knowing that Josue Young, the convert he had baptized ten years ago, was now a priest. Young had been ordained in Cincinnati on April 1, 1838. And Ffrench was further heartened by the fact that another Portland young man had decided to study for the priesthood. James Landers had entered Mount St. Mary's in Emmitsburg, Maryland to commence his studies a week or so after Young's ordination. His father, John Landers, was a prominent Catholic of Portland



Old St. Dominic's, the first Catholic church in Portland.



The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception,
dedicated September 8, 1869.

and had, it seems, taken over the position of John Crease in the Catholic community. It was good to see both churches and vocations appearing in Maine.

When Father Ffrench left Portland and the diocese of Boston in the fall of 1838 to return to Ireland, Maine lost one of her great church builders. Few men could have faced the task assigned him in 1827 when he was told to build immediately churches in Eastport, Portland, Saco and Dover. And, with the exception of Saco, he did it. He did purchase a lot in Saco, but the departure of Dr. Greene for Boston and a fire in 1830 that ruined the main industry delayed the expected increase of Catholics here. No attempt was made to build a church, and the lot was sold shortly after the death of Bishop Fenwick.

Father Ffrench did not stay in Ireland. Eight years later he was back in the diocese, but Lawrence, Massachusetts and not Portland was his parish. He died there January 5, 1851. By then St. Dominic's had two additions to accommodate the growing parish, first in 1848 when there were over a thousand Catholics and again in 1850.[1] When Bishop Bacon came to Portland in 1855 as the first bishop of the new diocese he was installed in an imposing ceremony in old St. Dominic's, and until the new cathedral chapel was built, the church was his cathedral.

3. BENEDICT FENWICK AT BENEDICTA (1833-1850)

No place in Maine is more closely associated with Bishop Benedict Fenwick than the town of Benedicta. He proposed and promoted the idea of an Irish Catholic immigrant colony there, he purchased the land for the project, he directed the construction of its church, he planned to make the town, by opening a college and a seminary there, the center of New England Catholic intellectual life and a model Catholic community writ large for all to see and imitate. The town was so much a part of him that it was only right that its name was borrowed from the bishop.

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[1] On the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the new St. Dominic's on Sunday, August 19, 1888, the "St. Dominic's Souvenir," a four-page circular, was published. It carried a full description of the new church and a historical sketch of old St. Dominic's. The two additions of 1848 and 1850 are mentioned; the second was an addition to the rear of the altar for the children of the parish. Their elders occupied the main part of the church, but I suspect a few elders were appointed to retain order behind the altar.

That Benedicta and not Boston should at any time be proposed and seriously considered as the center of New England Catholic life appears as a rare piece of fantasy today. Yet it was not a bishop's idle dream. To understand the origin of and the unrealized plans for Benedicta one must recall the two major problems that plagued Bishop Fenwick from the day of his arrival in Boston.

He needed priests and wanted an educated laity. He wanted native priests educated in his diocese. That made a seminary and a college imperative; a college where vocations to the priesthood would be fostered and where young Catholics would be prepared for the professions of American community life, and a seminary staffed by an American faculty that understood the American temper and the New England mind and would train his seminarians for work in New England communities. The students and the seminarians would come from the children of the hundreds of poor Irish and German immigrants entering Boston and other New England ports of entry.

Care for these immigrants, especially the Irish, was his other problem. They were crowding into the city where far too many were becoming demoralized despite the fact that only in the city did they have the opportunity for contact with the church and a priest or they were settling down in small towns and succumbing to the dominant pressure of a Protestant culture. Fenwick soon became convinced, after beholding the wonderful transformation wrought in the lives of these poor immigrants by the possession of good land and the presence of a church with a resident priest as had happened in North Whitefield, that a large and prosperous Catholic farming center was the only solution to this problem. He did not intend, of course, that all immigrants would settle there; but a sufficient number would do so to ease, if not eliminate, the evils consequent to living in an overcrowded section of a city that frequently could not supply them with work.

These two projects, a college-seminary and a farming colony, occupied many of the bishop's conscious hours at the beginning of the 1830's. They were disparate projects at first, but then, and quite suddenly, they were merged. Both would be located together, – at Benedicta. But the merger did not succeed. In the end Benedicta became what it was first intended to be, a farming colony; the college was established in Worcester; the seminary, many years later, was located in the suburbs of Boston. How the two projects merged and how the colony alone survived in Benedicta is the topic of this chapter.

The idea of a seminary was first in time. Bishop Cheverus had used the cathedral rectory as a seminary. There Edward Kavanagh had spent a year after receiving the tonsure at St. Mary's and pondered the decision to take the other steps to the altar; there Dennis Ryan and his cousin, Patrick Bryne, had made their theological studies under the direction of a doctor of divinity, Father Francis Matignon. Bishop Fenwick did the same. By the fall of 1826 he had three seminarians studying at the cathedral seminary and all three were American-born. Only one, however, was a born Catholic; the other two were young converts, William Wiley, born in New York, and William Tyler, born in Vermont and a cousin of Virgil Barber. They were a remarkable trio and they must have strengthened Fenwick's resolve to have a real seminary, a separate building with its own faculty. The urgency for priests compelled the bishop to hurry their preparations for the priesthood. On December 23, 1827, Fitton and Wiley were ordained. Fitton was the first New England-born Catholic to be ordained in Boston and he played, as we shall see, the decisive part in transferring the college from Benedicta to Worcester. Tyler's ordination was on the following May 3, and the pioneers of Benedicta would know him well, for he would be their zealous resident priest until he was appointed the first Bishop of Hartford. No doubt it was the success with these three young men that encouraged the bishop to enlarge the cathedral in 1828 and to open a school in the basement, using the seminarians as the school teachers. In a letter of May 16, 1831 he tells us that he had four seminarians in the cathedral seminary, and that they, in turn, were the faculty for the fourteen boys attending the seminary school. Here was his college-seminary already beyond the embryo stage. Little wonder that he now wanted and talked about an established college and seminary, convinced that the future welfare of the Catholics of his diocese depended on them. By 1830 they were his major objectives.

This required money. He turned to European societies founded to help foreign missions. He explained his predicament to the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and on the basis of this appeal proceeded to purchase on borrowed money the lot adjoining the cathedral. The next fall, in a letter of September 26, 1832, he told the Society he would use the 14,000 francs allotted to his diocese to start a seminary building, adding that his plans included a college, too. Construction of the building, however, did not start until 1835.

In the meanwhile the idea for a farming colony had crystallized. It took definite shape during his 1832 visit to the Catholic community that worshiped at St. Dennis' in North Whitefield. The soil of Maine would save the Irish, and land, good land, was available at a low price in Maine. Massachusetts had prudently retained ownership of some of the public lands of northern Maine and now she was throwing it open to settlers. This opportunity to obtain good land cheaply no doubt was a factor in shaping the idea of a colony. He would buy a township. The project was first broached in the April 27, 1833 issue of his weekly, *The Jesuit,* and repeated in the July 13 issue.

Now the search for the proper site began, and the time devoted to this distracted him from the construction of a seminary building. A piece of land on the Mattawamkeag River was recommended. Late in August, 1833 after he had dedicated the Rasle monument, he and Father Ffrench and Father Conway, the Indian missionary who had some experience as a land surveyor, went, as the September 21 issue of *The Jesuit* informed interested persons, "to look at some townships on the Penobscot and Mattawamkeag Rivers, with a view to the settlement of a number of Irish catholics." The view was disappointing and the site rejected. Tired after the rough trip the bishop returned to Boston to prepare for a trip to Baltimore and the Second Provincial Council. In his weekly he directed any one interested in the project to send name (and money) to Father Tyler during his absence.

An added impetus to the college and seminary project came from the deliberations of the council which held its first session on October 20. The American bishops were concerned about the lack of priests to care for the flood of immigrants. In their pastoral letter they urged them to hold fast to their faith despite the lack of churches and pastors to tend to their spiritual needs. They took a lesson from Bishop Cheverus' successful method and advised those who were unable to attend a church to gather together, "if there be two or three families," on Sundays and holy days at the usual hour of Mass and to offer in spirit the holy sacrifice being offered in some distant church, to recite the prayers of the Mass, to read from some approved book of instructions or Catholic sermons. These directions are similar to the ones Cheverus gave to the Catholics of Maine, as can be seen in his letter to the Hanly family of Bristol.

The pastoral letter also urged the Catholics to support the Catholic seminaries, college and schools established in their dioceses. And they had some advice on vocations. The Church in America should not depend on other nations for their clergy. The priests and bishops of American dioceses must be Americans. "We desire," they said, "to see your children prepared to occupy our places." But parents were cautioned not to push their sons into the sanctuary; it would be sufficient, under God's providence, that they did not impede a son clearly called to the priesthood. Bishop Fenwick may have had a hand in penning this section of the pastoral letter; at least, he was in complete agreement. The figures for his diocese underscored his dependence on European-born priests. In 1831 eleven of the fifteen clergymen in his diocese were Irish-born. To give substance to the Bishop's hopes for a native hierarchy, Bishop Fenwick asked for a coadjutor bishop and the creation of the new diocese of Hartford and proposed two young American priests for the new posts: John B. Fitzpatrick and William Tyler.

Good news awaited him on his return to Boston, – good news for his colonization project. While the bishop was deliberating in Baltimore Father Conway continued the search for the right site for the colony and he found it. In a letter of November 12, 1833 the priest strongly recommended purchase. Fenwick made a hurried trip to satisfy himself. He agreed with Conway; he liked the location of Township No. 2, Range 5, in the southern part of Aroostook County.

Now the bishop was deeply involved in both projects, and it seems the colony received priority of attention. Now that the desired site had been found, immediate action was in order. Without prejudice to the seminary one must admit the colony project demanded immediate attention. The initial response to the proposal had been excellent. The bishop's offer was, of course, extremely attractive: some thousands of acres of first class land would be purchased and sold at cost; an easy method of payment was promised; a church and a resident priest would soon be added. To poor, land hungry Irish immigrants this was a golden opportunity. Now that the desired site had been found, delay could easily ruin the whole plan. So the contract with the Land Agent of Massachusetts was signed July 7, 1834. A tract of 11,358 acres in the western half of the No. 2 Township, located about seventy miles north of Bangor, was acquired at the price of $13,597.50. It was a heavy financial burden for a poor diocese, but the bishop was allowed to stagger the payment over six years.

A month after the purchase had been made the bishop announced that sales of lots were closed. The heads of 134 families, totaling 536 individuals, had subscribed for the land. This was an average of 84.5 acres a family, a possession that must have appeared utopian to their European relatives. If all these families had moved to Benedicta within a year and had stayed there, the colony would have a far different chapter in history books. But the majority never did go there. Three years later when Bishop Fenwick made his first visit after the arrival of the pioneers, there were seventy-five settlers in the town. What had happened?

Some of the subscribers never had serious intentions of settling there. They purchased lots because they had the money and the bishop had urged them to support the project. Others most likely indulged in some speculation; the price was low and the land promised a rich return in the near future, if the colony succeeded. Still more postponed their departure until they had more definite knowledge of the colony, and the early reports from the pioneers discouraged them. The failure to assign a resident priest immediately and to build a church without delay must have disheartened others. And, no doubt, some of the subscribers failed to pay their first installments. There was an increase in price that some must have found hard. The original price of $1.25 was raised to $2.00 an acre for lots fronting the new road and to $1.50 for lots beyond them. The average lot was one hundred acres, but smaller ones of fifty and eighty acres were available for the poorer families. The increase of costs was sufficient to deter some. It was, then, a combination of factors that reduced the number of pioneers.

Benedicta, however, survived the first two years despite the failure of many to settle there and the discouraging conditions faced by the first settlers. When Fenwick wrote his annual letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in December 13, 1836 he was quite satisfied with the progress made. "So far the project has succeeded admirably," he told them. More than thirty families are established there," he added, and "they will be joined next year by an equal number."

The turning-point was the bishop's visit in the summer of

1837. If he had the leisure for a hobby it would have been farming; he loved land. He found Benedicta to his liking and his visit was a tonic to the pioneers. The population doubled during the next year and continued to develop at a steady pace. By 1838 he himself was spending as much time as could be spared from his episcopal duties at the colony, and his enthusiasm for the place was reflected in his report to the editor of the *Catholic Directory* for 1838, the first mention of the colony in this annual. Benedicta is, the bishop wrote,

> a new and thriving settlement on a tract of land lately purchased (by the bishop) of the state of Massachusetts, embracing nearly 12,000 acres. It lies in Penobscot county in Township No. 2, fifth range, between Salmon and Moluncas rivers.
>
> The object of this purchase was to induce those among the Irish Catholics who were desirous of producing small farms to settle together as they could thus be more easily provided with a clergyman and enjoy the benefits of their religion. The settlement at the present time consists of between thirty and forty families and is daily increasing. The soil is of first rate quality and the climate exceedingly healthy.

Bishop Fenwick did his best to divert the westward flow of Irish immigrants to the new settlement. The unfavorable religious atmosphere of New England persuaded many to seek new homes in the west; "all our best Catholics" were going to Missouri, he told his friend Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, adding in good humor that an ill wind had its compensatons. Others joined them in search of better economic opportunities. He sought the aid of Patrick Donohoe, now publisher of the *Boston Pilot,* to stem the tide. In the October 12, 1839 issue Donohoe published an editorial that must have raised doubts in the minds of some planning to go west.

Irish immigrants are frequently persuaded, the editorial observed, to escape the hardships of city life where they were exploited by seeking their fortunes in the west, but on arrival find themselves faced with equally discouraging hardships. A few of them were enumerated; if they did not become a victim of ague they were devoured by mosquitoes; they had to contend with swamps, rattlesnakes and adders; they were deprived of the consolations of their religion. Why go west when there was at Benedicta, a beautiful, healthy, pleasant location, "a Catholic settlement" where great improvements were being made? Why, the editorial wanted to know:

> Should our countrymen go to the West, when they can find a retreat there, free alike from the dismal swamps of the West, and the Egyptian bondage of the metropolis. Let them go to the Bishop's settlement in Maine, where they can enjoy the society of their friends, worship God according to the customs of their gallant ancestors, and reap the reward of their toil in the yellow harvest, and all the rich bounties of nature.

The embracing air of Benedicta had wrought changes in the bishop's plans. The seminary had not been forgotten but clearly it had suffered from the concern about the colony. Although the land for the seminary building had been acquired in 1832, construction did not start until 1835. In his letter to the Society of this year (August 27) acknowledging the gift of 7,480 francs, he expressed the hope that the seminary, with a capacity for twenty-five to thirty seminarians, would open in the approaching fall and that the building would also house a school for about the same number of scholars. The building, a four story hall, was indeed finished before the end of 1835, but there was no *schola brevis* that fall. In fact it never opened as a seminary.

In his next annual letter to the Society (December 13, 1836) when he again thanked his friends for the gift of 14,700 francs, Bishop Fenwick explained why he had not opened his seminary in Boston as promised. A lack of a faculty prevented the seminary from functioning. Father Robert A. Lord, while admitting the failure to start the seminary has an air of mystery about it, accepts the bishop's unsuccessful efforts to staff the seminary as the basic reason. This is, of course, an adequate reason for not opening a seminary. But since a faculty is more important than a building we must assume the bishop had given this problem some thought from the start. And since he was soon, if not already, planning a college and a seminary at Benedicta, it would seem that the established success of and high expectations from Benedicta were the decisive factors for not opening the seminary in Boston after the building was completed. By 1838, at the latest, he had decided to open a college and a seminary at Benedicta. The problem of the faculty was not solved by a change of site. But it does seem as if he thought the problem had a better chance for solution in Benedicta than in Boston.

He saw a great future for Benedicta and this section of Maine. It would become the center of the Catholic faith in New England, a faith rooted deep in the soil and invigorating an agrarian society. Catholics were pouring into his diocese; during the ten years since his arrival the Catholic population had doubled from 10,000 to 20,000. His enthusiasm for the colony was boundless from 1837 to 1840. He spent as much time there as he could spare; he started construction of a church, he urged the building of a dam, a sawmill, a gristmill, a farm school, an orphanage (a recognition of the price the pioneers paid for their courageous venture), in 1838 he sent one of his best priests, William Tyler, to the colony "for the season." In the bracing air of Aroostook County he saw Benedicta "a thriving colony of several thousands" and the county seat of a Catholic district, for he expected wealthy Catholics to buy the lands adjoining the township. The Aroostook Valley would be Catholic, like Madawaska to the north. This vision was not without some substance. Foreign visitors were impressed by what they saw and the prospects of the future. It was quite natural for him to transplant his college and seminary to Benedicta where the Catholic atmosphere would nurture vocations and where his seminarians from Boston and other large towns could be trained in the traditions of a Catholic, agrarian community.

By the fall of 1838, as has been noted, he was planning a college and seminary in Benedicta. The college building was started in 1839, a wooden, two story structure eighty by forty-two feet. Five hundred acres of land (possibly reserved for this purpose) was assigned as a college farm and the income from the saw and gristmills was allocated to the college. He told his friend Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis in the summer of 1839 that his "Catholic settlement succeeds beyond my expectation."

> I am now erecting a seminary and college, which I hope will one day afford an ample supply of native clergymen for the wants of the diocese, in the center of the township. I have allotted for its support 500 acres of the first rate land, together with the proceeds of a sawmill and gristmill.

He was ready, too, to inform the Catholics of America of his new college and seminary. In the 1840 *Directory* he described the colony as in previous issues, adding that at the present there were sixty or seventy families (in 1838 there were thirty to forty) and the number was "daily increasing." And then he informs his readers of Benedicta's first major advance:

> It is here, on a tract of 500 acres, specially reserved for the purpose the Bishop has concluded to erect a College for the education of Catholic youths, with an Ecclesiastical Seminary. The buildings are now being constructed for the above purpose, on a convenient scale; — and hopes are entertained they will be in readiness for the admission of Students, before the close of this present year.

The problem of a faculty still remained. Where would he get the professors? Surely he must have given this considerable thought. Since he had difficulty getting a resident priest for the colony, a religious order or congregation was his only hopeful source. The Jesuits were his first choice. He had jokingly said on his arrival that the tasty New England cod would entice them back in clusters. He wanted to see them back in their old Maine missions. When he was appointed Bishop of Boston he had asked for the loan of Virgil Barber for work among the Indians; he had reminded them of Rasle's great work in Maine by dedicating a monument to him. Now he would present them with a building, a good farm, and the income from the mills. That was more likely to attract them than cod fish.

First he turned to a group of French Jesuits who had recently arrived in Montreal in 1842 only to discover their plans had gone awry and had declared their intentions of finding work in the United States. Bishop Fenwick offered them the college at Benedicta and as many missions in Maine as they could handle. This offer had the immediate effect of clearing up their difficulties in Montreal where they decided to remain. He then turned to his friends, the American Jesuits, keeping his brother, George Fenwick, a Jesuit, posted on his doings. He offered them the college, the farm, the mills, all the unsold land, and all the missions in Maine. Even if a group of American Jesuits could be spared, a college in Benedicta had little promise of success unless it was the center of a thriving Catholic region, as envisioned by the bishop. It was, of course, far from that in 1842.

Then the decisive factor in the future of Benedicta as the Catholic intellectual and social center of New England appeared. In the fall of 1842 Father James Fitton offered the bishop the academy he had started and was still conducting under increasing difficulties in Worcester. Bishop Fenwick accepted the mortgaged gift. For awhile he considered converting Mount St. James Academy into a college and seminary staffed by diocesan priests, a substitute for his Boston plan, and inviting the Jesuits to Benedicta where they, too, would conduct a college and make it their headquarters for the Maine missions. The chances of staffing a college or a seminary, not to mention both institutions, by diocesan priests at this time were remote, and it is doubtful if Bishop Fenwick was here expressing more than a desire. The Superior of the American Jesuits was compelled to decline the offer of the Benedicta proposal. The bishop then offered both places to the Jesuits. Fortunately he would not accept a refusal, and the Jesuits accepted the bishop's plans for a boarding college at Mount St. James. With this acceptance Bishop Fenwick had won his long struggle for a college.

The college, named Holy Cross after his cathedral, did in time nurture the vocations of many diocesan priests and among these priests not a few were called to be bishops. Ten years before the college was founded, the American hierarchy had in their pastoral letter to the faithful expressed the desire "to see your children prepared to take our places." Bishop Fenwick had signed that letter. His college on Mount St. James was no small factor in fulfilling that desire. When the college was opened there was only one diocese in all New England and Fenwick was the only bishop. In 1893, when the college celebrated its golden jubilee, there were seven dioceses in New England. The bishops of five of these dioceses were alumni of the bishop's college; in another diocese the coadjutor bishop with the right of succession was an alumnus.[1] Only in Boston, where Archbishop John Williams presided, was there no alumnus bishop. John Williams had received his college education before Benedict Fenwick founded Holy Cross.

Fenwick never did establish a seminary; neither did John Fitzpatrick, his successor. Were all his efforts wasted? By no means. He was educating the Catholics of his diocese to the urgency of having an educated clergy and to their responsibility to provide both the seminarians and the facilities of education. He was not alone in ambitioning a diocesan seminary; it was the dream of many American bishops. But a diocesan seminary was more than the American Catholics of these decades could support. This is amply proven by the discouraging efforts of the New York diocese, larger and wealthier than Boston, to establish a satisfactory seminary. Bishop John Dubois started his appeals to the Lyons association for financial aid about the same time as Bishop Fenwick. Neither he nor John Hughes, his successor, succeeded in establishing a satisfactory diocesan seminary; it was always a faculty that proved to be the snag. The solution was a provincial seminary, as Hughes eventually realized and Fitzpatrick agreed. Yet even this was no easy task. Archbishop Hughes did not live to dedicate St. Joseph's Seminary in Troy, the provincial seminary for New York and New England, on December 1, 1864. St. Joseph's was a solid achievement, but its foundations were laid by the efforts of

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[1] The bishops in the order of their appointment were: James A. Healy, appointed in 1875 Bishop of Portland (est. 1853); Lawrence S. McMahon, appointed in 1879 Bishop of Hartford (est. 1843); Denis N. Bradley, appointed in 1884 Bishop of Manchester (est. 1884); Matthew Harkins, appointed in 1887 Bishop of Providence (est. 1872); John S. Michaud, appointed in 1892 Coadjutor Bishop of Burlington (est. 1853); Thomas D. Beaven, appointed in 1892 Bishop of Springfield (est. 1870).

Bishop Fenwick and his colleagues to educate American youths in American seminaries.

The decision in favor of Worcester as the site of a college put an end to the dreams of Benedicta as the center of Catholic life in New England. But Benedicta was far from a failure. Without distractions the settlers concentrated on what it was first planned to be: a farming colony for the immigrants to New England. These were mainly Irish, although others were free to go there and a few of the many German Catholic immigrants to these states during these decades settled here. After a few rough years the colony was firmly established and continued to advance despite the decline of active interest on the part of Bishop Fenwick. From 1843 until his death the college in Worcester was his cardinal concern.

It is regrettable that we lack details about the early years of the settlement. There is only scant information about the pioneer settlers and confusion even about the length of residence of the first pastors. The names of some of the first settlers are known. Nicholas Broderick, Timothy Dorsey, Martin Qualey, Philip Finnegan and John Nullmore came in 1834; Patrick Brade, Chris Keegan, John Byrne, Francis Smith, John Perry, Henry Rivers and Martin Lawlor followed shortly afterwards. But we miss the day by day account of these pioneers which would give us a detailed picture of the life on the Molunkus River. The annual *Directory*, although far from accurate and usually containing the statistics for the year prior to publication, is our best source on the priests. There we are given the names of the priests who served the community from year to year. Until the summer of 1838 Benedicta depended on visits from Father Michael Lynch in Bangor, seventy miles away, although these visits were supplemented by the bishop's stay there in the summer of 1837. Father Tyler was there for the "whole season" (probably from early summer to fall) of 1838. No priest is listed in the *Directory* for 1839, but thereafter the colony was served by four active and zealous priests: James Conway (1840), the Indian missionary who had discovered the township, William Tyler (1841-1843), who was appointed the first Bishop of Hartford shortly after his recall to Boston, Manasses Dougherty (1844), a young Irishman recently ordained and with a fine Old Testament baptismal name that would be readily recognized by New England, and William Moran (1845-1850). After Father Moran, Benedicta became one of the missions under the care of the Jesuits.

The years assigned to these priests, as found in the *Directory* are not entirely accurate. We know from a few surviving letters of Father Dougherty that he was there in December, 1842. Writing to a Mrs. Mullen of Houlton (on information he had received from Father McMahon, late of Eastport, and not from Father Tyler) five days before Christmas, 1842, he told her that he had recently been "appointed by Bishop Fenwick to the Pastoral care of the Roman Catholics of these places, namely Conway and Houlton." Conway was not an error; Dougherty's letters were posted from "Conway, Aroostook Road." And so we must conclude that the colony was at first called after its first resident priest and only later after its founder. Dougherty found enough Catholics in Houlton to warrant a chapel and he repeatedly urged them to start construction, but they did not respond to his proddings.

Early in September, 1843 Dougherty visited Boston and on his return he had a letter of introduction to Edward Kavanagh, now governor of the state, from Bishop Fenwick. The bishop wanted the young priest to become acquainted with Kavanagh and entrusted the missionary with a gift of grapes, probably grown in the colony, for the governor. It is from another letter of the bishop to Father Dougherty that we learn of his intent to establish a model Catholic community in the Aroostook Valley. Temperance was to be stressed, particular attention was to be given to the catechising of the young, frequent reception of the sacraments urged on all, but especially on the young. A happy and harmonious community was the bishop's fond hope, and he suggested the arbitration of all disputes as the best means. This spirit did, indeed, become a tradition in Benedicta and the community became known as the Catholic utopia. Benedicta made a good impression on Thomas Colley Grattan and he has passed on his observations to us in his *Civilized America;* as British consul in Boston from 1839 to 1846 he was in a good position to observe the experiment. It was, he thought, "the most successful effort to ameliorate the conditions of the Irish in America," and would become a model for similar projects because of "its complete success and the high state of moral discipline adopted by the people."

The church, St. Benedict's, was built in 1838. It was the sixth church, excepting the Indian chapels, built in Maine and the fourth under the direction of Bishop Fenwick. Although he described it as a "splendid" structure in his offer to the Jesuits, his own description of the first St. Dennis' of North Whitefield (a miserable building) would be more accurate. It was constructed of "hewed logs laid up in cobble style," and was soon too small for the growing colony. The second church was an improvement, and the third church in Benedicta, "of imposing Gothic design," was a clear testimony of the continuing growth and faith of the residents of the town and a worthy monument in memory of the pioneer settlers. The old key to the first St. Benedict's, a heavy six inch instrument with a square inch bit, first used according to tradition by Bishop Fenwick, was presented to Holy Cross College as a reminder of where the college might have been.[1]

Potatoes became the staple crop of the colony. At first some turned to timber for a living, but better lands elsewhere in Maine made it an unprofitable livelihood. Dairying was tried, too. But the potato became king. By 1842 three ships laden with Maine potatoes arrived at the wharves of Georgetown in the District of Columbia where they were noticed by a friend of Edward Kavanagh. The friend was reminded that he owed Kavanagh a letter. He told Kavanagh, who had spent the summer there as a member of the Maine commission that worked with Webster in negotiating the Webster-Ashburton treaty, that he had purchased ten bushels for his own table and hoped "to find them as good as yourself." The friend also gave him the current prices on Maine potatoes; they sold for twenty-five to thirty cents a bushel on the boat and seventy to eighty cents in the retail market. This was not a price that would make the Benedicta farmers tycoons, but the middleman was already making a tidy profit.

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[1] It will be found in the Museum of Dinand Library, in one of the exhibit cases resting beside the *Catholic Directory* of 1840 which is opened to the page where Fenwick first announced his decision to found a college and seminary at Benedicta.

The hope that Catholics would spread out from Benedicta was partially realized. This, of course, weakened the colony, but it was a healthy and desirable expansion. St. Benedict's first mission, Houlton, soon became the more important center of the potato industry. In 1844-1845 Father Moran built a church there and in time the history of St. Patrick's in Damariscotta Mills was repeated; Benedicta became a mission of Houlton as Damariscotta became a mission of North Whitefield. Before the decade was over, in 1849, Father Moran had opened another mission. This one was in Fort Fairfield. There could be no better evidence of the success of the colony than the opening of these two missions during the 1840's.

Benedicta, too, remained healthy. Early in 1859 (January 29) a correspondent penned a letter to the editor of the *Pilot*. He informed the readers of this weekly that Bishop Fenwick's colony was

> in a most flourishing and happy condition. No class of people bear a more worthy reputation among all classes and none better deserve it. For general intelligence, industry, and morality no community surpasses them.

There was talk that the "Shakers or Quakers" were planning to settle there. The writer would like to see the Trappists quartered in this area: "I see no better field for them, for the good to themselves and their fellowmen." And better days were ahead for the Aroostook Valley. Bangor no longer was the general market for her products. The St. Andrew's railroad had brought the area into direct contact with New York and Boston, and had also reduced freight costs noticeably. The proposed Aroostook road would introduce more and still better improvements. The Aroostook Valley, in brief, was a good place for immigrants who wanted to be independent farmers within six years. The letter reads as if from the pen of Bishop Fenwick. It was not. The founder of Benedicta "remarkable for the kindness of his heart, and the cheerfulness of his disposition," had died thirteen years before, on Tuesday, August 11, 1846. He was buried at his request in the graveyard at Holy Cross College. He would have been buried in Benedicta if his college had been there.

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THE JESUITS IN MAINE: SECOND PHASE

ON Friday, June 9, 1848 Bishop John Fitzpatrick visited Holy Cross College where he had arranged to see Father Ignatius Brocard, S.J., Superior of the Maryland Province of Jesuits. The bishop returned to Boston that day, mission accomplished. He had persuaded Father Brocard to assign two Jesuits to work among the scattered Catholics, Indians, Canadians, and Irish, of northern Maine. It was nearly a century since Father Étienne Lauverjat had retired from the Penobscot to the St. John. Bishop Fenwick had tried his best to restore the Jesuit missions in Maine, but without success. Early in his episcopacy he had had Father Virgil Barber, S.J., on loan for a few brief years as an Indian missionary, and near the end of his life Father John Power, S.J., had spent a few months as pastor in Portland. That was the best he could do. Fenwick was a sick man, with only a few months to live, when Power, one of the original faculty of Holy Cross College, had visited him on his way to Frederick, Maryland. Power had been impressed "by the kindness of the good congregation of Portland," and, aware of the need for priests in Maine, may have urged the case with the Jesuit Provincial. Now Fenwick's successor, acting on the information that some exiled Swiss Jesuits would soon be in this country, tried again. This time the bishop's request was respected.

1. THE JESUITS RETURN TO MAINE

James Moore, S.J., and John Bapst, S.J., were the first two Jesuits assigned to Maine, Moore to Oldtown as director of the band, and Bapst to Indian Island, the Penobscot reservation, opposite Oldtown. Father Bapst was the first to arrive, on Monday, August 7, 1848. He was also the last one to leave when the missions were closed in 1859. The life of the re-established Jesuit missions of Maine was not long, only eleven years, but they were important ones in the history of the diocese, for the work was started when hundreds of Catholics, scattered throughout a wide area, were in danger of losing their faith from the lack of priestly care and parish life and from the pressure of the Protestant crusade. A number of Jesuits, some of them from Holy Cross, of whom the most prominent was Father Anthony Ciampi, former President of the College, served on the Maine mission. But only one spent the entire eleven years there: John Bapst. On the score of his eleven years of labor he would have rated a prominent part in the history of the missions and the diocese of Portland. Yet his work and the work of his companions have been overshadowed by an unfortunate episode wherein Bapst was tarred and feathered by a mob under the spell of Know-Nothingism. The episode was a passing event; the faith restored, the Christian homes established, the churches built became enduring memorials of the Jesuit missions in Maine.

John Bapst was the first to arrive, and, despite "a brilliant reception," Indian fashion, he was a lonely man as he crossed the Penobscot and set foot on Indian Island Monday, August 7, 1848. As he began his "sojourn on this solitary island in the midst of strangers," the mysterious ways of Divine Providence must have tested his faith. He was thirty-five years old, had been ordained a priest less than two years, was unable to converse in English, had no desire for missionary work, had not even in his dreams seen an American Indian, had arrived a few weeks previously in New York with a band of forty-four Swiss Jesuits exiled from their homeland by a civil war. Not until the

May of that year had he given any serious thought to America, and that thought had been forced on him when he was told one day to start for Antwerp and to await a ship for the United States, and within three hours he was on his way to that bustling city. The trip across the Atlantic had been a nightmare; the expected four weeks ran into seven, and food and water were rationed long before he landed. Only the company on board ship, a remarkable group of men, some ordained priests like himself and other seminarians, had sustained him. Among the forty-four was a future General of the Society of Jesus (Anthony M. Anderledy), a future Provincial of the Maryland Province (Burchard Villiger), a future bishop of the Indian Territory (John B. Miége), a future great Indian missionary among the Pottowattomy tribe (Maurice Gaillard). There were others, too, who made sterling contributions to the struggling Catholic Church in the United States. Bapst was one of them. God has a way of converting catastrophes into blessings; surely the civil war that drove these Swiss Jesuits into exile was a blessing to the American Catholics. Many Catholics in Maine shared in those blessings. But Bapst had reason, as he tried to sleep on the night of August 7, 1848, to question the wisdom of assigning him to the Penobscot Indians. He readily admitted two years later that he was disappointed with the assignment. Recalling his arrival in New York, he confided to a friend: "He [Father Brocard] offered me the mission among the Indians of Old Town; I accepted it, not without some disappointment."

He had had a few weeks in New York to recuperate from the rough trip and then had boarded the Boston boat in company with Father Gustave Eck, S.J., arriving in that city "in an incredibly short time." He stayed in Boston a few days, saw the bishop about his work in Maine and how to get there, and then boarded another steamer, after parting with Eck, his "last friend," who remained in Boston as pastor of Holy Trinity.[1]

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[1] Eck was the first Jesuit pastor of Holy Trinity and Jesuits have continued to be in charge of the parish. This German parish introduced the customs of Christmas trees and Christmas cards to Boston and New England.

There was good boat service between Boston and Portland; the "commodious and fast steamer *John Marshall*" would take him to the Custom House Wharf for one dollar. From Portland the *State of Maine* would take him to Bangor for another two dollars. Bangor was the principal lumber depot of North America, and its population of twelve thousand was increasing rapidly from the influx of Irish immigrants. Thoreau, only two years before, had described the city as "a star on the edge of the night." Bapst could see only the dark of the night. The Oldtown Indian reservation, on an island in the Penobscot opposite Oldtown, was ten miles above Bangor, and the Bangor and Piscataquis railroad, in operation since 1836, would bring him to his destination. There remained only a boat ride to the island where the Indians, about five hundred of them, awaited him. Bernard de Voto has described for us the feelings of a visitor to New England; one has, he says, a feeling of personal recognition, of seeming to have been there before, of having come home. This is a fine description of what Bapst did not feel. He felt like the stranger he was, alone on a solitary island among strangers, heavy of heart, without the companionship of a community life. In the colleague with him on the Maine missions and by the nature of the work that demanded lengthy separations, Bapst found little of the fellowship he wanted and needed.

There was a remarkable contrast between the two men selected to restore the Jesuit missions in Maine. James Moore was born in Ireland and had been a Sulpician before entering the Society of Jesus in 1839 at the age of forty. He was nearly fifty when sent to Maine. He liked to be on the move, working in a new place frequently, if not annually. He had been a parish priest at St. Thomas' in Maryland and at Trinity in Georgetown before his appointment in 1845 to Holy Cross as professor of French and administrator of the new college. He remained there for two years and then returned to Maryland. He was there when informed that he was Superior of the new mission in Maine and that Oldtown would be his headquarters.

It is difficult to keep up with Moore's moves during the eleven years of the Maine missions, for he alternated between Maine, Holy Cross, and Maryland with the routine broken by a trip to Ireland to collect money to rebuild Holy Cross after the fire of 1852. His first stay in Maine lasted about two years, and he returned in 1853 and again in 1855. In all he spent considerable time in Maine, and his name is connected with many of the parishes that had their origins in this period. He was a kind-hearted, generous worker, but it must be admitted that he had a strong strain of restlessness in his system. Father Bapst does not mention him too often in his letters, but he did note on one occasion that Father Moore "wants to be alone;" alone and on the move would be more accurate.

One can get an idea of Father Moore's love for travel from the diary of an enterprising senior at Holy Cross College who kept a sharp eye on visitors to the campus. Under the date of January 17, 1849, he noted that "Father Moore, once our procurator, has just arrived here this evening;" he left the next day after dinner and a visit to the President of the College that resulted in a holiday for the students. The work in Maine was evidently agreeable, for "he looks as well as ever he did but more fleshy and his hair is perfectly gray." Father Moore was back on May 3, "with a stranger." "The old man," the observing senior confided to his journal, "looks well and hearty." In the middle of July, Moore had a visitor himself; the Provincial was in New England making his annual visitation and "has been clear to Maine to see Fr. Moore." Late in the next month Moore was at Holy Cross again, bringing with him two students who had been studying in Montreal. "Fr. Moore looks well," we are told. The young man whose diary has posted us on the missionary's visits would see more of Maine than Father Moore. He was James A. Healy, Portland's second bishop, and as a bishop he would discover that a priest working in Maine in the nineteenth century was poorly qualified unless he loved to travel. No doubt that was one of the reasons for selecting James Moore.

The first of the cluster of churches built under the direction of the Jesuits was started by Father Moore shortly after he arrived, late in August, in Oldtown. He found the Catholics there anxious to have a church and within a week of his arrival he had Bishop Fitzpatrick's permission to go ahead. Construction was slow and St. Joseph's was not opened for services until 1853, but Father Moore must be credited with opening the building program that was a salient feature of these eleven years. It was, however, Bapst who directed the completion of the building, for Moore had been recalled and was getting ready to return to Maine by the time the church was opened.

2. BAPST AT INDIAN ISLAND

Father Bapst resided with the Indians for three years and one month, from August 7, 1848 to September 2, 1851, when he moved to and made Eastport his headquarters. These months were his novitiate as a missionary: learning the English language which he really never mastered and which was a source of embarrassment in the presence of Yankees, becoming acquainted with the ways and the wiles of the American Indian, appreciating the temper of the New England mind, adjusting himself to the solitudes of a missionary. Care of the Indians was not his sole occupation during these months, as some have said. At the beginning he did, no doubt, give much of his time to them, but soon Indian Island became his headquarters for an expansive district that included many Catholics. In the summer of 1850, about two years after his arrival, he told a friend:

> The Indians of Old Town are but the smallest part of our mission; our glory and consolation are the stations among the Irish and Canadians, scattered over the whole extent of the State of Maine, with whose care we are charged.

And we should note here that his work among the Indians cannot be counted as a success. Not that he did not do good work, for he did. But a state of affairs beyond his control prevented him from doing the work of a resident priest. The bishop had gone out of his way to obtain a resident priest for them and when they, or better a faction of them, persisted in obstructing the work of Bapst, Bishop Fitzpatrick decided to reprimand them by assigning the priest to a place where he would be appreciated and where he could better fulfill his growing talents as a missionary.

Bapst's work at Indian Oldtown allows us to recall how the Penobscot tribe had fared since Father Romagné returned to France in 1818, the situation when Bapst arrived, and the reason why he was transferred to Eastport.

When Bapst arrived in August 1848, the Indian village was a cluster of about thirty wooden houses, some of them neatly built, on the southern shore, with several more scattered over the island where the five hundred Indians were quartered. A schoolhouse, a town hall, and a church with a residence attached completed the village. The chapel, a rather good looking building with a steeple and bell and a choir gallery, had been built by Father Virgil Barber twenty years before to replace the one constructed by Father Cheverus.

The Indians had changed since Barber's departure. It was not apparent at first, for the Indians were on their good behavior and Bapst was ignorant of Indian ways; he thought they were all "little saints." He soon discovered that many were chronic drunkards and had lost their faith. "How greatly was I deceived," he admitted later; he traced this sad condition to the absence of a resident priest for twenty years. But on this point he was in error, for they had not been neglected for two decades. Indeed, they had more priestly attention than many groups of Catholics in New England during these years and, considering the circumstances, had been the object of extraordinary care on the part of Bishop Fenwick. And it was only a group of the Indians that had deceived him; half of the tribe still remained "excellent Catholics," and they were his consolation during his stay there. A bitter, nigh irreconcilable dispute had broken out and had divided the tribe into two factions. It had undermined much of the good work of Father

Virgil Barber and other missionaries and eventually forced Bapst's retirement from the island when his efforts to heal the breach failed.

Strictly, Virgil Barber had restored the Jesuit Indian missions in Maine. A friend of Bishop Fenwick, he had been loaned to the Boston diocese and spent two years, 1828-1830, at Indian Oldtown before he was recalled by the Jesuit Provincial. With funds granted by the state legislature he had built the "handsome and commodious" chapel whose steeple dominated the village. The state legislature had also granted, at Bishop Fenwick's request, five hundred dollars for a school and a storehouse, and Barber, a born teacher, had conducted a school with considerable success. Father Eugene Vetromile, the next resident priest after Bapst and the author of *The Abenakis and Their History* (1866), pays tribute to the lasting work of Virgil Barber. Vetromile on his arrival found:

> Indians who know how to read well, and some capable of writing. But the credit of it is due to the late Virgil Barber, — a missionary who resided amongst them for ten [sic] years, and whose memory remains in benediction amongst them.

During his brief stay with the Penobscots, two years and not ten, Barber also managed to make important strides in persuading them to exchange the wigwam and hunting for the house and farm life. Had his stay been longer the record of the Penobscots would have been better; it would have been better, too, if Barber's legitimate requests for state aid had been granted. The requests resulted in many trips to Portland, then the state capital, and in controversies with the State agent for the tribe.

Between the departure of Barber and the arrival of Bapst four priests resided at Indian Island. Father James Conway succeeded Barber. We have already been introduced to him in the section on Benedicta. He was Bishop Fenwick's companion in search for a suitable site for the colony and discovered the township eventually selected; later he was pastor at Benedicta. He spent four years (September 1831-October 1835) with the Penobscots. The bishop intended to replace him as soon as he could get two French missionaries for the two Indian missions. In 1833 he was loaned two Picpus Fathers, Louis-Edmond Demillier and Auguste Petithomme. He sent both of them to Pleasant Point to help each other get acquainted with Indian life. Then, because Father Conway was doing such fine work with the Penobscots, the bishop decided to leave him there and send Petithomme to Burlington, Vermont, where the French-Canadians needed the care of a priest badly. The Superior of the two missionaries, however, wanted them nearer to each other, and so the bishop sent Petithomme to Indian Oldtown. This would have been good enough if he had remained there, but after a year (October 1835-1836) he moved to New Brunswick. His companion, Demillier, gave a decade of devoted service to the Quoddy Indians, dying on the reservation in July 1843; his death was a severe loss, for he had mastered the Abenaki language, had composed a new prayerbook, improving on Romagné's which had been printed by Bishop Fenwick in 1834, and had the spirit of heroism that characterized the French missionaries among the Indians.

Now Bishop Fenwick had to find another priest for the Penobscots. Conway was not free to return, but in December 1836 Father Patrick Rattigan was available and went there. His stay was brief, only six months. Life with the Indians, one must remember, was far from pleasant, and since Maine authorities were reluctant to appropriate money from the Indian fund to support a priest, the problem of survival was not easily solved. In 1838 the bishop succeeded in getting an appropriation ($260 a year) for a resident priest, and Father Edward Murphy, a young and energetic priest, was assigned to Indian Oldtown. Full of enthusiasm, he besieged the state authorities with demands for school equipment, and they must have been relieved to learn that after eighteen months the bishop was compelled to recall the young priest to meet the pressing demands on him from other quarters of New England. Father Murphy said goodbye to his Indians in December 1839. Bapst was the next resident missionary.

The Indians had no resident priest for nearly nine years, but they were not completely neglected. The pastor of St. Michael's in Bangor watched over them as well as he could. But Father Murphy did leave at a crucial time. For in 1838, the year he arrived, came the trouble which nearly ruined the tribe. A dispute over the position of the chief of the tribe arose, and soon two bitter factions, the Old and the New Parties, were disturbing the village. A resident priest during these nine years probably would have restored peace, but it was allowed to continue, and when Bapst arrived it was festering. All were on guard when he arrived, watching and waiting for him to declare himself.

In the spring of 1850, a year and eight months after his first contact with the Indians, Bapst told a friend: "I have been subjected to very severe trials." These trials derived from the "Old Party," followers of the chief who had been deposed by other members of the tribe for scandalous conduct. This dismissal had caused the rift. We cannot give the details of this dreary and saddening rift, except to note that Bapst nearly healed the breach in the summer of 1850 and that the repudiation of this agreement by the Old Party persuaded Bishop Fitzpatrick to reprimand the Indians by assigning Bapst to Eastport.

In July 1850 Bapst thought he had healed the breach. He had persuaded the New Party, the faction loyal to him, to accept the deposed chief with the understanding that on his death an election of a new chief would follow and that the school on the island would be under Bapst's supervision. This latter point was important, for the Old Party had been intriguing with Protestants interested in the Indians. Bapst went to Boston to get a school teacher, found one who was suitable "in every respect," and returned with him only to find that the leaders of the Old Party had changed their minds and now insisted on a Protestant school master. The New Party would have nothing of this, nor would Bapst. Another attempt was made to end the dispute by appealing to the council of the confederate tribes; the council suggested the resignation of both claimants and the election of a new chief. The solution was accepted, arrangements were made to have Bishop Fitzpatrick attend the burying of the hatchet, and then at the last hour the Old Party rejected the solution. That was enough for the bishop; there were too many Catholics in his diocese clamoring for a priest to waste on the childish wranglings of the Indians. Now the Old Party made life on the island unbearable. To protect the faith of the faithful Indians Bapst advised them to move to Caughnawaga, Canada, and many of them did. As Bapst was leaving the Island for Eastport, the Indians gave him another startling lesson in the makeup of the Indian. The whole tribe saw him to the boat, manifested "deep sadness and sincere regret" at his departure, and sought some memento of him. He did not think them capable "of such delicate sentiments." Between the brilliant reception given him on his arrival and the delicate sentiments manifested on his departure, John Bapst had learned to be a missionary.

By the summer of 1850, as has been noted, the Indians had become the smallest part of Bapst's work. He had been carrying on alone for the past months. Father Moore had been recalled (as closely as can be figured) late in 1849 or early in the new year. Bapst had requested another companion and "at last" (indicating the request had been entered more than once) one had been promised by April 27. In the meanwhile, he had been attending to the Indians and "a mission of many thousand Catholics, scattered over an immense extent of territory." That kept him busy, but these Catholics were his "consolation," compensating for the troubles and worries the Indians were giving him. Moore and Bapst had started the circuit of stations – a circuit that quickly developed into an astounding range of territory – shortly after their arrival. At the beginning the circuit covered the towns on the Penobscot below Bangor: Frankfort and Winterport (then a part of the former town), Bucksport, Thomaston, and Rockport (then West Thomaston), and extended eastward to Cherryfield, westward to Waterville and Skowhegan, and northward to Benedicta.

Waterville and Skowhegan became Bapst's favorite towns. Here his talents as a missionary became apparent. From the start he got along well with the town authorities and monitors, despite his faulty English, a point worth underscoring in view of what happened later in another town. He visited Waterville early in 1849 and established a temperance society for Catholics. He makes it clear such a society was needed. Within a year a wonderful change had taken place; the greater number of those who had taken the pledge had faithfully observed it. This made such an impression on the temperance minded Protestants of the town that he found they were making "every possible effort to effect my permanent residence in their midst," had persuaded "the Canadians to set about building a church," promising substantial aid for the fund, and had asked him to lecture to the townsfolk. Bapst did not identify the topic of the lecture, but the assumption is in favor of temperance. He had to decline the flattering invitation. The reason: "I have not yet mastered the English tongue." The church, however, was started and opened for services in 1851. And the Indians were not alone in seeking tokens of remembrances of this man. In Dinand Library of Holy Cross College is a well preserved picture of Father Bapst; it was the treasured possession of a young married Irish couple (John and Susan Fogarty) who had moved to Waterville in 1853 and there first met the man who nourished their faith. His rare visits were big days in their lives, although one visit, the day he related to them his Ellsworth ordeal, was sad. The little picture of him was handed down, along with their faith, to their children. Such was the devotion he inspired.

In Skowhegan, as in Waterville, he found the Catholics an earnest group and the Protestants cooperative. The town hall was offered to him for his talks and his evening instructions attracted many Protestants; half of the audience were Protestans, he said. The chief of police became extremely interested in his temperance work, promising him full cooperation; and after one of his departures the chief, in an excellent position to know, wrote him that "all had gone well with the Canadians." Bapst was well aware that much of this good will derived from his support of temperance, but it was good will. And it was really a by-product of his missionary work, for he was not promoting temperance to please the townfolks of Skowhegan.

The work, however, was far too much for one man, and Bapst had been alone for some months. The *Catholic Directory* for the years 1849, 1850, and 1851 lists two lay brothers with Bapst and Moore, but it is doubtful if they were ever in Maine. And if they were, they had gone by the spring of 1850. His mission, he tells us in April 27, 1850, extended "over an immense extent of country" where "many thousand Catholics" lived. He was counting those who had lost their faith as well as practicing Catholics, for he adds: "to convert them and to preserve them in the faith I can only count on myself."

By June 1850 Bapst had a new companion. His name was John Force, or we should say that he was known in Maine as John Force. At Holy Cross, where he was a member of the faculty for the school year 1847-1848, he was Mr. John Voors, S.J., instructor of the rudiments and mathematics. Not much is known of him; he was a Hanoverian and presumably one of the many exiles of this decade. He is not mentioned in James Healy's *Diary* and so we may safely assume he was not at Holy Cross during the 1848-1849 school year. Suddenly he appears in Maine as Bapst's companion and with his name anglicized out of respect for the Yankee preference for Anglo-Saxon names. We suspect that Bapst, sensitive to the prevailing prejudice against foreigners, suggested the change. Why a Jesuit seminarian should be assigned to the Maine mission has not been discovered, but John Force may be the teacher that Bapst acquired in Boston about this time to conduct the Indian school. He found one "who suited me in every respect" but he does not identify him. If not Force, who was this adventurous soul who was willing to face a classroom of young Indians?

In any case, John Force has the distinction of being the only scholastic to labor on the Maine missions, and Bapst was happy to have him, for he was a hard worker and became extremely popular.

Shortly after Bapst and Force met, Bapst told a friend:

> Happily I have with me Mr. Force, who, with the exception of the priestly character, which he has not yet received, has all that is necessary for success in this mission. If Rev. Fr. Provincial will leave him with me, I shall not despair of overcoming, with God's aid, all these difficulties.

By November of the next year Force had been ordained and this, of course, increased his worth. And he continued to please Bapst with his zeal:

> Fr. Force has enjoyed and still continues to enjoy great popularity in Maine; there is no doubt that he has labored with great zeal since he has been with me, and has accomplished much good.

In the fall of 1852 Force left Bapst and Maine for Frederick, Maryland, to make his third year of probation, or tertianship, the period of spiritual training that follows the years of academic studies. He never returned to Maine. When classes opened in September 1853 he was the new prefect of discipline at Georgetown College, a post that should have been relatively easy after his experiences with the Maine Indians. We next find him in the diocese of Covington, Kentucky, no longer a Jesuit, and then he disappears as suddenly as he first appeared. But he had given two good years to the success of the Maine Mission. When Force left Maine for Maryland in the fall of 1852, Eastport had been the headquarters of the mission for a year, the missionary work had greatly expanded, and Bapst himself was wondering whether he would be allowed to remain in Maine.

3. BAPST AT EASTPORT AND THE RISING MISSION OF MAINE

John Bapst left Indian Oldtown for Eastport on September 2, 1851. Both Bishop Fitzpatrick and Father Brocard, the Provincial, had agreed on the move; it was a reprimand to the Indians known as the Old Party who had become trouble makers and had formed a species of schism. Bapst, however, had not abandoned the Penobscots, for they still remained his "parishioners;" the move had in fact increased the Indians under his care, for now those at Pleasant Point required his attention. Eastport had been without a resident priest since the previous April and, as we know, the bishop was anxious to have a priest in this town. In Eastport Bapst found a "pretty little church and a handsome pastoral residence" awaiting him, and this remained his headquarters until January 1853.

After he had inspected and established himself in the handsome pastoral residence, Bapst took a vacation. He deserved one, for except for a few trips to Boston and Worcester, he had no rest from the daily demands of the squabbling Indians and the hard pressed Irish and Canadians. But we mention the vacation for another reason; the trip broadened and educated the man and he returned to Maine with some new ideas about America. As yet he had little contact with the American clergy, including the Jesuits, and he honestly admits that he had not brought with him from Europe any high esteem of them. Travel broadens a man with an open mind, and Bapst's mind was open as he started a three weeks' trip that took him to Washington and back, visiting the Jesuit houses and colleges in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Frederick, and Worcester. He was received at every stop with "much cordiality," in nearly every house he visited he found one or more of his friends in exile and all, "with very few exceptions," were happy in their new work in America. "This visit," he confessed, "has dispelled all my prejudices." The Maryland Province was as good as any in Europe. Bapst was becoming Americanized.

On his way back to New England he paid a visit to Holy Cross. A few months after his arrival at Oldtown, on his first visit to Boston, he had seen the college with his friend, Father Eck, but had not remained over night. Now, in the fall of 1851 when the colored foliage gave beauty to Mount St. James, he had an opportunity to see "the second boarding-school of the province" and to get acquainted with the members of the community. He found a thriving college, 125 scholars, a good size building, and a faculty of nine Jesuit priests and six other professors, either lay men or scholastics. Father Anthony F. Ciampi was there to greet him in true Roman style as President of the College, a remarkable man who would thrice be president of the institution. Father George Fenwick, brother of the founder of the college, was dean. Bapst would get to know three of the Jesuits of the college exceedingly well, for they would later be assigned to Maine. Father Ciampi spent the interval between his first and second terms in Maine, adding, as Bapst remarked, prestige to the Maine mission. Kenneth A. Kennedy, professor of natural philosophy and chemistry, was the first American born Jesuit sent to Maine and the only one to die there. John McGuigan, professor of rhetoric and French, was the third. For a while it looked as if Bishop Fenwick's wish to have a college that would also care for the Maine missions would be realized. Bapst returned to Eastport refreshed, encouraged, free of some of his native prejudices, with great plans for a widely expanded mission circuit and church building program. Among the plans was a college in Maine. The visit to Holy Cross must have put ideas into his head, and before another year had passed he was talking about starting a college, until his Superior advised him to confine his dreams to his sleeping hours. At the time the Jesuits were wondering if Holy Cross, destroyed by fire in the summer of 1852, would be rebuilt.

The expanded missionary field covered, in the fall of 1851, "a territory more than one hundred and forty miles in circumference," and scattered throughout this area were "about 9000 Catholics," not counting the Indians. This seems an excessively high figure, but they are Bapst's estimate and he and his companions were the only ones qualified to make an estimate. There were only four diocesan priests in the state, residing in towns where there were growing Catholic parishes: Bangor, Augusta, Whitefield, and Portland, and attending, of course, to neighboring Catholics. The rest of the state, north of Portland, was the mission. There were thirty-three towns or stations on the circuit, but only a few of these towns had churches (Eastport, Benedicta, Houlton) or chapels (Indian Island and Pleasant Point). They found on their arrival churches under construction in Machias, Calais, and Trescott and pushed these through to completion. Already three new churches had been started.

Bapst had two companions by now. Father Hippolyte DeNeckere, a Belgian, had joined him and Force in the fall of 1851, probably before Bapst started on his vacation. DeNeckere had been recently ordained, having arrived in this country in 1846 as a seminarian. Bapst had high praise for these two co-workers; both were "full of youthful vigor, and possessed of much talents," excellent missionaries and popular with the people. All three were conducting "jubilee missions" this November, and had reclaimed a "very large number of bad Catholics," had converted about thirty Protestants, and had seen much prejudice against Catholics disappear. The three churches now under construction (at Oldtown, Waterville, and Ellsworth) would be completed by next fall. Two more would be started next spring.

The spring of 1852, however, was a disturbing one. Father Brocard, the Provincial who had accepted the mission for the Jesuits, died in March; the next Provincial, Father Charles Stonestreet, a native of Charles County, Maryland, and the grandson of a veteran of the American Revolution, was not appointed until August 15. Father Joseph Aschwanden, acting Provincial in the interval, was not an ardent supporter of the Maine mission. He opposed plans for a college and for further expansion of the mission, and wisely, one would say. Bapst agreed to forget his plans, regretting, however, that Father Aschwanden's "views relative to the mission of Maine are entirely different from those of the late Rev. Fr. Brocard."

> Accordingly, I will make no arrangements for the establishment of a

> college in Maine, and will think no longer of introducing the Society into the northeastern British provinces.

Then, Bapst was told that one priest would probably be recalled from Maine. This brought a strong letter from Bapst in which he listed reason after reason why this should not be done. Two priests could not do the work; if three priests can not be spared, better to close the mission; but that was inconceivable, for we cannot abandon nine thousand souls until the diocese was sufficiently able to take care of them. Bapst was now drafting arguments to save the mission instead of plans for a college. He succeeded in establishing his position only to learn that his Superior planned to replace the band with three new men. This called for more letters and reasons against such a move. An entirely new personnel would do harm to the work already accomplished and would in all probability put an end to the building program. Do not imagine, he told Father Aschwanden, "that our Irish congregations are ready to give their confidence to the first priest that comes along." The new men, too, would probably be "foreigners," unable to speak English, and this would dim the prospects of conversions among the Protestants and undermine the good will already won. He was convinced that a complete change of personnel:

> would bring about the ruin of the mission and the foundation of the high hopes which four years of untold fatigue and incredible sacrifices had inspired.

He would, however, abide by the decision made.

The reasons were sound ones and were partially effective. Bapst remained, his two companions were changed. Father Levy Vigilante replaced DeNeckere[1] in August, and Father Basil Pacciarini, whose family name has been roughly mishandled in parish histories, succeeded Force. This second change was made by the new Provincial, Father Stonestreet, some time in September and was unavoidable. Bapst felt much better when he heard of the appointment of the new Provincial: "I feel a comfort that I have not felt since the death of Rev.

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[1] DeNeckere became a prominent educator and preacher. After his recall from Maine he was first appointed Vice-President of Gonzaga College, Washington, D. C. and then the President (1854-1857) of this college. His appointment as President of St. John's (Fordham) College followed his years at Gonzaga.

Fr. Brocard." He was glad that he was not going to be removed. But, as he feared, his two new companions were "foreigners" and spoke broken English. Since he was "the worst of all," they were at a great disadvantage. Bapst was aware of the rising tide of nativism and the stress on Americanism. He wanted an American Jesuit on the band.

In the letters provoked by the threat to the future success of the mission Bapst described in detail the work of the missionaries. He had urged Father Aschwanden to visit Maine and see for himself, and when this could not be arranged he did his best to post him on their work. A glance at their schedule will quiet anyone who questions his right to refer to untold fatigue and incredible sacrifices. There were thirty-three stations on the circuit and each was visited six times each year. Only a few days, a week at most, was spent at each town, and these days were spent in hearing confessions, offering Mass, and distributing Communion, baptizing, blessing and rectifying marriages, instructing both children and adults, (there was a "most lamentable ignorance" among the latter) and examining the condition and progress of the Sunday schools, the temperance societies and sodalities that had been established.

The journey from one town to another was tiresome. He listed the major towns visited in a letter to Father Stonestreet, suggesting that a map of Maine would help. In the Eastport area there were Louis Island, Calais, Robinston, Pembroke, Pleasant Point, Lubec, Trescott, and Machias; along or near the Penobscot there were Cherryfield, Benedicta, Old Town, Frankfort, Bucksport, Belfast, Rockland, Thomaston, and Ellsworth; on the Kennebec, Waterville and Skowhegan. To cover all these towns and the stations near them from Eastport was more than three men could do; six visits a year was the most that could be managed, and one could not expect parish life to advance as long as the Catholics saw a priest every other month. Bishop Fitzpatrick suggested another center or headquarters, one nearer the Penobscot, and he thought Ellsworth would be the best location. Ellsworth was not the best location.

Both the bishop and Bapst knew Bangor was, and so did Father O'Sullivan, pastor of St. Michael's in Bangor. Two centers, of course, would mean another man on the mission, for one could not expect one of them to live alone either in Eastport or Ellsworth. So on September 12, 1852, a few months after Bapst feared the worst, even the end, of the Maine mission, he was asking Father Stonestreet for a fourth Jesuit, one who was a master of English and a good preacher, an American Jesuit.

He was not denied. Father Kenneth A. Kennedy, professor of mathematics and the natural sciences at Holy Cross, joined Bapst in Eastport in the fall of 1852. He was a New Yorker, had taught at Holy Cross as a scholastic in 1844, and after ordination returned to the college. He had a natural bent for physical sciences and was appointed, as a contemporary phrased it, "to the chair of mathematics and the natural sciences." The fire on the Fourth of July that nearly destroyed the college building and forced suspension of classes for a year, had released him from class work. "He, then, by direction of his Superior, cheerfully hastened to the laborious missions of Maine, where he was employed until his death." This is not quite correct, as we shall see, for his missionary work was briefly interrupted. And he may not have hastened as cheerfully as claimed, but Bapst was cheered when he saw this young (he was only thirty-four) and healthy American arrive at Eastport. Early in December he expressed his gratitude in a letter to Father Stonestreet: "with God's help," he wrote, "we shall be able to do something for God's glory in the State of Maine."

4. BAPST AT ELLSWORTH

Early in January 1853 the new Ellsworth center for the stations on the Penobscot and Kennebec was opened by Bapst. He remained there until June 1854, when the growing excitement in this town prompted his transfer to Bangor. Affairs had proceeded smoothly in Ellsworth during the winter and spring of 1853. Bapst had started a series of lectures that had attracted a number of Protestants and had resulted in some conversions. By August of this year there had been one more change in the personnel; Father Vigilante had been recalled and Father Moore had returned. Yet a cloud of uncertainty about the future of the Maine mission had gathered by the summer of this year.[1]

The diocese of Portland had been established by Pius IX on July 29, 1853. Would the new bishop agree to include Bangor in the Jesuit missions? Father Stonestreet, the Provincial, was now convinced that a city parish was needed to stabilize the work in the many small and poor missions. Bapst concurred in this view. The answer was delayed when the bishop-elect, the Very Reverend Henry B. Coskery, Vicar-General of Baltimore, declined the office. Bishop Fitzpatrick was reluctant to commit the first bishop of the diocese to a situation that might not be to his liking. The future of the missions remained uncertain even after Fitzpatrick appointed Bapst pastor of the Bangor parish in June, 1854. The situation in Ellsworth dictated the appointment.

A tense situation had developed in Ellsworth and in an effort to ease the tension Bapst was transferred to Bangor and appointed pastor of St. Michael's. The tension, unfortunately, was not broken until Bapst, on the night of Saturday, October 14, was physically assaulted, verbally abused, and tarred and feathered. Maine, New England, the United States were shocked by the ghastly news. Thereafter, wherever Bapst went his fame had preceded him; indeed, the unfortunate episode has overshadowed the great work done by the Jesuits in Maine, for it is the one episode in the eleven years that has been clearly remembered. A confluence of factors produced the disgraceful event and some of them have not been granted the recognition they deserve.

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[1] There were frequent changes in the personnel during 1853 and 1854. Both Moore and Kennedy were appointed to collect money for the rebuilding of Holy Cross and were frequently absent from the missions. Father John McGuigan and Father James Cotting replaced them during September and October, 1853. In the summer of 1854 Father Joseph Bixio was recalled on the score of poor health, and he was replaced by Father Eugene Vetromile. Bapst protested that these frequent changes did much harm, but he knew that they were not arbitrary changes.

Ellsworth on the Union River was a bustling ship-building town of three thousand when Father Bapst made it his residence in 1853. Five ships, brigs, or schooners had been built there in 1852 and on one day, May 28, there were over sixty vessels tied up at its wharves. We have been told that Ellsworth had been particularly fortunate in the class of men who had founded and developed the town, a fine blend of British blood and Puritan mind. The strain had been somewhat weakened by the mid-nineteenth century judging by the deportment of not a few during the years 1853 and 1854, and the deterioration was not entirely due to the recent influx of Irish into the town. The Catholics had acquired a small building and used it for a church, but Bapst and his companions had started the construction of a new church. It was still under construction when Bapst arrived and was completed near the end of 1853.

We have not given the reader any description of Father Bapst and this might be the proper place to recall some impressions of his contemporaries. He was small of stature and physically frail. During the winter and spring of 1854 he was not well at all; Father Moore wrote in February that his health was "rather delicate," and Bapst himself tells us why, — a three months cold that settled in his lungs. He had a singularly handsome and attractive face, we are told by one who knew him well. The surviving pictures of him support this description; one sees the face of an intelligent and sensitive mind with a touch of sternness.[1] He had a winning personality, and we know enough about his success with both Catholics and Protestants to realize that this must have been so. Yet he was blunt and outspoken in his letters and probably so in his speech. His poor English no doubt accentuated this mannerism for one of Bapst's converts has noted that his smile took the harsh edge off his odd, broken English. His manner was grave, almost too grave some thought, but one soon discovered that he could be genial "beyond most men." He was not short of courage; that was known by his friends and the Catholics of the Maine mission before the Ellsworth affair and was recognized by most Americans afterwards. He would not be frightened.

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[1] John Gilmary Shea acquainted Americans with Bapst by using a good likeness of the missionary as the frontispiece of his volume *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (New York, 1857). Shea, however, varied the frontispiece.

He had been in Maine over four years before moving to Ellsworth, and it is well to remember that he had not had any serious difficulties with Protestants. Indeed, he got along well with them, despite his handicaps. He was well aware of those handicaps: he was a foreigner at a time when the prejudice against them was acute; he spoke an "odd, broken English;" he was a Jesuit, a word that probably had more connotations in the American mind than any other word. Yet his contacts with Protestants were cordial. A year and a half after his arrival in Maine he told a friend:

> I can honestly assert that since my arrival in these regions, I have been treated with the greatest respect by the Protestants, although every one knows that I am a Catholic Priest and even a Jesuit.

His friendly relations with the citizens of Waterville and Skowhegan, already mentioned, are examples of this respect. They respected the good work the man was doing, and wherever he went this was acknowledged. The Bangor *Mercury*, commenting on the Ellsworth affair, observed: "Since he has been here he has done much good among the Catholic population, and has brought about many useful reforms, winning commendations on all hands."

He was impressed by the freedom of America, and this, coupled with the good will of the Yankees, convinced him that there was a great field for conversions in Maine.

> The United States is the freest country in the world. You believe yourselves free in France and in Belgium; but be assured that you possess but the shadow of liberty which we enjoy in America.

And he translated this freedom into specific actions: one can establish schools without prior approval and can preach Catholic doctrine to a Protestant audience in most of the towns without interruptions. To underscore the prevailing freedom in Maine he mentioned a Protestant lecturer who praised the Jesuits before a Bangor audience and was applauded. But to take full advantage of this good disposition of the Protestants and the freedom of the nation, missionaries with a talent for preaching and a mastery of English must be assigned to Maine. For, he told his Superior, Maine:

> is a state almost exclusively Protestant; but the Protestants, taken as a whole, are well disposed towards the Catholic religion; yet, to effect any good among them, it is important that the missionaries should be possessed of solid learning and no small degree of eloquence.

He realized, too, that one had to be cautious and prudent. "A Catholic priest in this country is apt to have some differences with the civil authorities who are all Protestants." Bapst obviously did not expect trouble in Ellsworth when he made the town his headquarters early in 1853. What happened, then, during the following months that aroused a maddened mob to attack him?

Bapst was a familiar person in Ellsworth before residing there. Father Moore and he had cared for the Catholics of this town since the start of the Maine mission, and since Bapst concentrated on the Indians during the early weeks at Indian Island Moore would be the first to attend Ellsworth. If the Catholics of any Maine town should have their first resident priest grimly fixed in their memories, it should be the Catholics and succeeding pastors of Ellsworth. Hence, one is confounded to read in a parish history, written within the memory of witnesses of Bapst's arrival in Ellsworth, that Father Moore "was the first pastor who fixed his residence there," remaining about six years. Moore would smile on reading that he remained six years in any Maine town. Besides, he was not in Maine when Ellsworth became the new center of the missions.

The growth of the Catholic population of the town, requiring a new church, followed by a resident priest no doubt displeased and disturbed some native Americans. Shortly after his arrival Bapst started a series of Sunday afternoon talks on Catholic doctrine. This was a common practice of their missionary work and they were open to all interested parties. Since lectures were the substance of entertainment at this time, especially in the winter seasons, they attracted Protestants. But the explanation of the Catholic doctrine was offered to the Catholic primarily; Bapst had discovered a "most lamentable ignorance" of the faith among many Catholics of the missions. The Ellsworth talks led to the conversion of some Protestants, among them twelve young ladies. Mary Agnes Tincker was one of them. She became a popular novelist and her first book, a historical romance called *The House of Yorke* was, like many first novels, partially autobiographical and centered around the Ellsworth affair. The book is one of the best sources on Bapst's experiences in Ellsworth, and the most neglected.

According to Mary Hennessy, Bapst's housekeeper and another important witness of these events, these conversions, especially the conversion of the young ladies, were a major cause of the excitement in Ellsworth. Bapst became a perverter of youth. One can easily understand the feelings of the devout and sincere Protestants on learning that some of their friends, young and old, had embraced "idolatry" and were "worshiping in Babylon." But the young ladies were not, as far as we know, teen-agers captivated by a pulpit Cicero. We know only one of the young ladies converted, but if all were like Mary Agnes Tincker they knew what they were doing when they professed the Catholic religion. She was twenty years old, and since she was sufficiently educated and mature enough to be a public school teacher, we can assume she was sufficiently qualified to make an important decision affecting her conscience and religious life. The converts soon discovered, if they had not in advance realized it, that being a Catholic in Ellsworth was not a lark. Writing February 10, 1854, Bapst reported that he, the Church, and the Catholics had become the object of slanders and abuses and that the converts bore the brunt of them. The campaign was aimed "chiefly against the Converts," he wrote. No doubt the success of Bapst from the pulpit or lectern contributed to the strained relations between the priest and some of the native Americans, but Bapst had made converts previously in his missionary work without any violence resulting. The conversions alone will not account for the outrage.

The Ellsworth affair was, as all are aware, an act of violence sired by the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850's. Elsewhere in New England these acts of violence ended with the destruction of property, including the Catholic church if there was one, as happened in Manchester, New Hampshire, on July 4, 1854, and in nearby Bath two days later. In Ellsworth the violence proceeded beyond destruction of property (both the old and the new church were destroyed) to an attack on a priest that narrowly escaped murder. Three local factors made the difference: the school question whereby the Catholics challenged the policy of the school committee; an abusive anti-Catholic newspaper, the *Ellsworth Herald;* Father Bapst, a priest and a foreigner.

The school question, a perennial problem in this country, was the explosive issue. It probably would have been peaceably settled in Ellsworth, as it was in fact peaceably settled in Bangor, had not the editor of the *Herald* aroused the fears and prejudices of the native Americans against Catholics and Bapst to such a pitch that the leadership of the saner element was neutralized until the mob mentality controlled the course of events. Father Bapst must be included among the decisive factors. He is charged by some with provoking the explosion. This is correct in the sense that had he not become the spokesman for the inarticulate Catholic minority the school question would not have been raised. Without a leader, the inarticulate Catholics of Ellsworth would never have challenged the policy of the powerful school committee of a Maine town. They would have confined their complaints to the privacy of the kitchen table, as Catholics were doing in many other New England towns. In the sense that Bapst challenged and urged the Catholics committed to his care to challenge an unfair school policy, in as much as he was a foreigner who spoke broken

English, and in as much as his preaching attracted some Protestants to the Catholic religion, Bapst provoked the affair.

Father Bapst was tarred and feathered Saturday night, October 14, 1854. That was about a year after the school issue had first been raised in Ellsworth. As was common in other public schools in New England, all children were required to read the Bible as part of their instruction. The Protestant version naturally was used without objection since the townfolk were Protestant. But immigration was changing that situation; the children of the Catholic immigrants were attending the public schools. Naturally, the Catholic parents did not care for the policy; nor did Father Bapst.

The Catholic school children of Ellsworth asked to be allowed to read the Catholic version of the Bible or to be excused from reading. Their request was not granted. Father Bapst presented the case of the Catholic parents and children to the school committee but without success. The Catholic parents, about a hundred of them, presented a petition to the committee with the same result. The school committee insisted that all school children read the same version of the Bible or withdraw from school. Then Father Bapst converted the old chapel into a school for the Catholic children, and Lawrence Donahoe, one of the Catholic parents, challenged the policy of the school committee in the courts. In April 1854 Donahoe sought financial compensation from the committee for the private instruction of his child. The case was heard before Maine's Supreme Court in Bangor on July 22, with James S. Rowe representing Donahoe, and Richard H. Dana, one of Boston's best legal minds, defending the Ellsworth school committee. One can see how this series of actions kept Ellsworth in a state of tension; one can easily understand why violence was brewing by reading a few issues of the *Ellsworth Herald.*

The school committee and Bapst debated the issue in the newspapers before the Supreme Court heard the case.[1] The position of the committee will be found in the December 24, 1853 issue of the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier.* The members wanted to correct some of the statements made by Bapst in other journals. The committee had not introduced an innovation; the reading of the Bible was a common practice in Ellsworth's schools and elsewhere and had been accepted without protests prior to Bapst's arrival; the Catholic pupils had been disorderly in class and destructive of school property; the committee had refused both Bapst's plea and the parents' petition ("a large majority of whom, it is understood, can neither read nor write") on the score of their reluctance to introduce "differences among pupils." Bapst was charged with full responsibility for the situation. His word was final; the Catholic parents had no voice in the affair and what they thought "was of no consequences — *his* opinion was *theirs* . . . "

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[1] The reader will find a print of the stately court house as it appeared when the case was argued in *Old New England* (New York, 1946), p. 31, by Barrows Mussey.

> All was undisturbed harmony on this subject, until the Rev. Mr. Bapst, a Catholic priest, of the order of Jesuits, came among us. He is a foreigner by birth, by education, and allegiance.

In all fairness the *Whig and Courier* printed Bapst's reply on January 5. The *Ellsworth Herald* did, too, on January 20 so that the editor could comment on his statement. Bapst found the committee's letter correct on some points, faulty on others. The committee had admitted that the Catholic pupils had been forced to read the Protestant version of the Bible but had neglected to add that those who refused were expelled. No Catholic child had been expelled for misbehavior; teachers and at least one member of the committee had freely admitted "the Catholic children were among the best scholars; their behavior as good as the others." Neither Bapst nor the Catholic parents wanted the Bible excluded from the schools; he had never asked for public funds for the Catholic school. Then Bapst briefly posed the problem.

> Has the School Committee the constitutional power to force on the Catholic children the reading of a version of the Bible, which is forbidden by their Church and their conscience, and in case of refusal, to dismiss them, for that reason alone? If the Committee has such a power under the constitution, then the Committee is right, and the Catholics are wrong. But if the Committee has no such power, then

> the Catholics are right, and the Committee is answerable for the whole agitation. But the question has not yet been decided by a competent tribunal. Therefore, let us wait.

One suspects that James S. Rowe had a hand in preparing this letter. If not Rowe, then someone carefully edited it for Bapst. He had a good mind and may have mastered the American constitutional law at this stage, but his letters show that he was unable to phrase the issue so deftly.

William H. Chaney,[1] editor of the *Herald*, saw no reason for waiting. He gave the decision in the same issue of the paper that carried Bapst's letter. After reminding his readers that Bapst has escaped from his native land after plotting against his government, he informed Bapst that:

> you will learn, should your unprofitable life be spared, that a Protestant Committee has the constitutional power to enforce the reading of the Bible upon all who attend the district schools, whether they are Mohammedans, Infidels, Pagans, or Papists . . .

The case as argued before Maine's Supreme Court did not involve directly the constitutional issue. It was an action of damage; Donahoe was suing to collect money to pay for the private education of his child excluded from the public school. Rowe, however, presented the constitutional aspects of the case and the position of the Catholics. He argued that the school committee had, by their policy, established a religious test and that this was not within the competence of a school committee or a legislature. As evidence of the correctness of the Catholic position he cited the General Superintendent of Public Education in New York who had declared that "no particular versions of the Sacred Scriptures can be forced upon the schools." He pointed out that the Catholics of Ellsworth were only asking for the system adopted in Bangor where the case was being argued, a system that allowed the pupils to read the version of the Bible of their choice, a system, he added, that was approved by an "eminent orthodox clergyman." Rowe made the Catholic position reasonable, but he did not offer any convincing arguments that Donahoe should be reimbursed.

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[1] Some authors have spelled the editor's name Chany and in some reports it is so spelled. The *Herald*, however, identified its editor as Chaney.

Dana spoke for four hours. He had refused an invitation to speak on the Nebraska question[1] while in Bangor in order to give all his time to his clients. He wisely skirted the constitutional issue. He argued that school committees were not liable for damages resulting from execution of their public duties, provided malicious intent was absent. Citing precedent, he said "no action has ever been maintained for damages, for the exclusion of a scholar from a public school." The Bible was a textbook, and school committees are empowered to introduce such books as they think best for the moral and intellectual instructions of the students; they had the power, too, to expel students for the peace and utility of the schools. He ended his argument with an eloquent defense of the English Bible as a common school book, and warned that if the position of the Catholics was upheld, all versions of the Bible would be soon excluded from the classroom and practically any textbook could be challenged and proscribed. Dana served his clients well. Donahoe was not reimbursed. Actually, the suit as entered did not directly involve the issue between the school committee and the Catholic parents of Ellsworth. But the case did serve to show that the position of the Catholics was sound and reasonable. And the system used in the Bangor public schools showed that there was no need to exclude the Bible from the classrooms.

Early in 1854 the opposition to the Catholics and Bapst was organized. This was an important move. In many other New England towns where there was a strong current of hostility to Catholics the opposition never reached the stage of violence because it was never organized. In Ellsworth a group called the Cast Iron Band was formed. Chaney was active in the group. Indeed Chaney's daily schedule these days was crowded, for besides the demands of his editorial duties he had to find time to prepare and give lectures and discharge the responsibilities of Town Clerk. That he was elected to this post indicates some public support of his crusade. And Chaney had to keep an eye on those in Ellsworth and the neighboring towns who frowned on his activities. He lashed out at Protestants who deprecated the ugly tone of the controversy, calling them "Jack Catholics," and he took the *Eastern Freeman,* the *Herald's* local competitor, to task for expressing the opinion that the policy of the Ellsworth school committee was wrong. Chaney, made of stout stuff, assured his readers that threats and slanders would not prevent him, as long as he had the power to move, from continuing the "war against Papal interference with our Republican rights."

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[1] The warmly debated question was the extension of slavery in territories. Senator Stephen A. Douglas had proposed that the slavery problem be settled by the voters of each territory (popular sovereignty). Nebraska and Kansas were the two territories immediately involved.

In February Bapst thought the tide of events was turning in favor of the Catholics despite "anti-popery lectures and indignation meetings." The Catholics had remained calm under the attacks, their faith was growing stronger ("at least twenty times stronger"), and public opinion was turning in favor of the Catholics "at least throughout the State if not in Ellsworth." Even on the touchy school question Bapst detected a growing support for the position of the Catholics.

The good behavior of the Ellsworth Catholics is worthy of note. The temptation to retaliate must have been strong. The Catholics of Ellsworth were mainly Irish immigrants and their children. In some Maine towns the celebrations of the Irish had, it must be said, disturbed the peace of the native Americans and had naturally aroused ill feelings against them. Sometimes these celebrations and subsequent quarrels were more than the local police could cope with. Such an affair had happened, according to the papers, in Portland on February 12, 1854, two days after Bapst had reported the good behavior of the Ellsworth Catholics. A disgraceful fracas had taken place and was ended by the intervention of their pastor, Father John O'Donnell of St. Dominic's. It could well be that Bapst and Moore (he was living in Bangor at this time), aware of the unpredictable consequences of the most innocent of celebrations, had persuaded the Irish of Bangor to abandon any public recognition of their patron saint. The *Whig and Courier* noted that they had not heard of any planned celebration of St. Patrick's day in Bangor, as was customary. Due respects, however, were paid to St. Patrick. Bapst went to Bangor and gave a lecture the night before the feast and at Mass the next morning preached on St. Patrick. Some may have thought that this was hardly the way to honor the saint, but Moore tells us that both talks were received with "general satisfaction."

As summer approached the organized opposition resorted to violence. On June 3 a crowd moved on to the rectory and, when told Bapst was not in, broke some windows. Bapst returned from his mission three days later and that night the church was attacked and some windows smashed. Colonel Charles Jarvis,[1] a courageous objector to Chaney's crusade, prevented destruction of the church. Bishop Fitzpatrick then directed Bapst to reside in Bangor, thinking that his absence would ease the situation. It appears that the move only emboldened those bent on violence.

On the night of June 13 the chapel-school was badly damaged. The newspapers began to report the acts of violence. Under the caption of Ellsworth, the Bangor *Whig and Courier* told its readers that:

> An attempt was made on Tuesday night to blow up a building formerly used as a Catholic chapel. The door was burst in and the windows broken by the explosion of a canister of powder placed against the door by some persons unknown. The *Freeman* intimates that some "respectable" people are implicated, but we guess not.

This unprovoked and lawless act was condemned by some of the Ellsworth citizens who demanded a public condemnation of the act. After the attack on his person, Bapst made it clear that there was "a portion of highly respectable gentlemen" in the town who "would have exposed their lives to save mine . . ." It does seem, however, that they had lost control of the course of events by this time. The town meeting called to condemn the acts of violence did no such thing; it passed a resolution promising Bapst rough treatment if he ever came to Ellsworth again. This public resolution, passed July 8 and signed by W. A. Chaney, Town Clerk, removed the near murder of Bapst from the realm of the unpremeditated.

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[1] In Tincker's book, *The House of Yorke*, Jarvis is Charles Yorke, the hero of the romance. He is an admirable character.

July was a distressing month in the diocese. The church in Manchester, New Hampshire, and the one in Bath were destroyed early in the month. On one day, within a few hours, the sacrifices of many people for many years disappeared in flames and smoke. They were not magnificent edifices, but to the Catholics they were their respected houses of worship. On July 15 there was an unsuccessful attempt to fire the new church in Ellsworth. Under the caption of "Ellsworth Rowdyism" the editor of the *Whig and Courier* told his readers:

> We learn that another attempt was made on Saturday night last to fire the Catholic Chapel at Ellsworth. Tar and other combustibles were placed against it and set on fire, but it was immediately discovered and extinguished.

Unfortunately, these acts of violence could not be blamed entirely on rowdies. If so, the respectable leaders of the town would have discovered ways of handling them. But the town was deeply divided, and less than two weeks after this attempt to burn the church the opponents of Know-Nothingism lost one of their supporters. The *Eastern Freeman,* the weekly that dared to question the wisdom of the school policy and the editorials of Chaney in the *Herald,* suspended publication. Its existence had been brief; it had started publication April 23, 1853, a few months after Bapst had moved to Ellsworth, and ceased on July 28, 1854. Evidently it had been losing subscribers. The *Herald* (later called the *American*) now had no local press opposition.

The attack on Bapst followed three months later. He arrived in Ellsworth late on Saturday, October 14, and went to the home of Richard Kent, a parishioner. This was his first visit since his departure in June. Word that he was in town soon got around. That evening, a crowd, soon a mob, gathered around and then entered Kent's house, grabbed Bapst, took his watch and wallet, and carried him away. He was stripped, plastered with hot tar, daubed with feathers, posted and jostled on a rough plank. He was unconscious when they abandoned him around midnight. The public resolution passed on July 8 had been duly and forcibly carried into execution.

Friends found him and took him first to another house where he was attended. He refused to take any drink or food, for he had come to say Mass and intended to do so. In his weakened condition he offered Mass Sunday morning and spoke a few words. Colonel Jarvis offered him protection in his home and the Catholics gathered what arms they could to provide further protection. He remained in the Jarvis home Sunday night, offered Mass again Monday morning, and then was taken to Bangor. Bangor found it difficult to believe the story, was soon convinced, and the city papers rushed the news to the other cities and towns of the state. The Bangor *Mercury* sent an extra edition to press.

The news truly shocked Maine. Not until Wednesday did the people of Portland get the details. The *Eastern Argus,* borrowing its information from the Bangor papers, could scarcely believe "that such an outrage should have been possible in the State of Maine" without provocation. The next day's edition (Thursday, October 19) carried a lengthy editorial on "The Ellsworth Outrage." The editor had pored over the Bangor papers to discover the cause; "the outrage seems to have been wholly unprovoked and without excuse, and is deeply disgraceful to the town where it occurred." It was not only an outrage against Father Bapst and the Catholic Church, "but against the laws of the land, and all the pledges of civilized society." Father Bapst, a stranger to Portland, was described: small of stature, with a frail physique, a former pastor of Ellsworth. He was, however, bearing the ordeal "with a great degree of calmness." The readers were told of the role played by Colonel Jarvis and that Bapst had recognized some of the "ruffians" who had not bothered with a disguise.

Indignation ran high in Bangor. It was greater, said the editor of the Bangor *Journal* "than we have known to exist here for a long time." The outrage "surpasses belief almost, and makes us shudder, when such outrages are perpetrated in our state, to think what may be possible from the fury of the fanaticism of the day." The efforts of some in Ellsworth to minimize the violence was quickly challenged. Though the whole town could not be rightly blamed, there was the fact of the public resolution. That was difficult to bypass, said the *Whig and Currier*:

> Now an outrage of the kind perpetrated at Ellsworth admits of *no* palliation; and any attempt to detract from its turpitude only makes the matter worse. It was not only a crime — but it was a stupendous folly . . . *We* do not condemn the people of Ellsworth indiscriminately, in this matter, although the fact that a foolish, threatening resolution was passed at a public meeting there in July last, without reprehension, is a difficult thing for them to get over.

The citizens of Bangor acted quickly to redeem the name of Maine. On Thursday, October 19, three days after Bapst's return to the city, a group of prominent men, acting in the name of the community, presented Bapst with a purse of five hundred dollars, a valuable gold watch and chain, and a letter. The inside case of the watch carried the inscription: Rev. John Bapst, Presented by Citizens of Bangor, October 19, 1854. The letter, signed by forty-one men, read:

> From the expressions that fell from the mob while engaged in their work, the motive that impelled the act was doubtless hostility and persecution of the Catholic church, and an adopted citizen. Although not agreeing with you in the tenets of the faith you profess, and of which we are happy to know you are an ornament, we are unwilling to see any man proscribed for worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Bapst, in accepting the gifts, termed the act of the Bangor citizens a strong defense of toleration and freedom. Holding the watch he had received, he remarked that it would serve to remind him that "if outrages can be commited [sic] in this glorious land of liberty, there is immediately a strong public opinion raised to reprove and punish it."

For a frail man Bapst made a speedy recovery from the ordeal. The day he was honored by the citizens of Bangor, probably before the ceremony, he wrote a letter to Father Stonestreet, the Provincial of Maryland Jesuits. He said he was sending him the account of the Ellsworth affair as given in the Bangor *Journal*; the account was correct but incomplete. But the purpose of writing him now was:

> to assure yr Rev. that, notwithstanding the nervous agitation I felt for few days [sic], my health, is again as good as ever. Moreover, the indignation not only among the catholics, but also among the protestants, & particularly among the most influential & respectable citizens, is such; the denunciation of the outrage by the press is so strong & so unanimous; & the marks of sympathy to me from all classes & creeds are so numerous that this event will be a confirmation of the divine word: *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*; & that God knows from evil how to draw all sorts of good for his children.

Bapst was reporting press opinion correctly. Four days after he penned this letter the editor of the *Eastern Argus* derived comfort from the "unanimity with which this outrage is denounced by the American press." But that was not enough, he added; the guilty ones should suffer "to the full extent of the law," and it was the duty not only of the town of Ellsworth but of the good citizens of Hancock county to see that this was done. He concluded his comments by agreeing with the New York *Post* that "those who are fomenting the Know-Nothing movement, should find in this outrage food for serious reflection." I think it can be said that the Ellsworth affair did play an important part in the decline of Know-Nothingism in New England. One could not, however, expect an immediate end to violence. This was the peak year of the movement and leaders in the saddle are not easily unseated.

There were disturbances in some of the towns and cities of Maine for another year or so. Father John O'Donnell, who had found the streets of Portland unsafe after sunset, had requested and received police protection for St. Dominic's since the middle of October 1855; in November the laying of the cornerstone of the new church in Bath was prevented by an ugly crowd; and on April 27, 1856, the Catholic church in Ellsworth and an unoccupied home owned by a Catholic were deliberately destroyed by fire. The church, a small (seventy-five feet by fifty) wooden edifice with a cross that stood a hundred feet above the ground, had been constructed under the direction of the Jesuits. If not an ornament to the town, it was respectable and the Catholics were rightly proud of it. It had cost them five thousand dollars and a debt of only five hundred remained; but it was not covered by insurance since there were no profits in Catholic churches to the insurance companies of the 1850's. Twice the windows had been broken; after the second act of vandalism the Catholics, at the expense of one hundred dollars, substituted blinds for the window glass. That was in the fall of 1855, and the change did not make for a comfortable church in the winter. However, the church was rarely used after the attack on Bapst. Since there had not been a fire to heat the building for more than a week prior to its destruction, the possibility of an accidental fire from within was eliminated, as a visitor to the town and an eye-witness of the fire and subsequent events testified. The meeting called to investigate the origin of the two fires ended in bedlam.

The culprits who had tarred and feathered Bapst were never indicted. An able lawyer, George Evans, a former United States Senator, had presented the evidence (conclusive evidence, too, according to an important Maine paper) to the grand jury, but no indictment was voted. The reason was given: "a portion of the jury belonged to a secret, and oath-bound anti-Catholic society."[1] Members of the jury (the vote was nine to seven against the indictment) who were not members had been conditioned by a public meeting called by Chaney and held on October 24, a few days before the presentation of the evidence to the jury. At this meeting it was resolved that Bapst himself was responsible for the whole affair, that they intended to continue to defend their liberties, and that the Bangor press and citizens had by their attitude and actions become accomplices after the fact. By then, however, Bapst was busy building a church in Bangor.

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[1] *Eastern Argus*, November 2, 1854. The Boston *Pilot* of November 4 and 11, 1854, using the reports in the Bangor *Journal*, posted its readers on the reaction of Ellsworth and the grand jury case.

5. LAST YEARS OF THE MAINE MISSION

Bangor and Eastport became the two centers of the missions in June 1854. Late in this year, after Bapst's unpleasant experience in Ellsworth and heartwarming condolences in Bangor, two new Jesuits arrived to carry on the increasing labors of the expanding missionary field. Father Eugene Vetromile was the first to arrive, a day or two after the Ellsworth affair. He replaced Father Bixio who left Bangor Monday, October 16, the day Bapst returned from Ellsworth. He could supply all the details omitted by the newspaper accounts. Vetromile remained on the missions until the fall of 1858; by then it was clear that the end of the Jesuit missions in Maine was soon at hand. Yet it was not the end of Maine for Vetromile; after a few years he became a priest of the diocese of Portland and became a recognized authority on the Maine Indians.

Father Anthony Ciampi who had completed his first term as President of Holy Cross was the other addition to the band. He was a long time in arriving. Bapst had received with joy in June the news that the former President of New England's only Catholic college was assigned to Maine. He did not arrive, however, until late in November or early in December. But this was not Ciampi's fault. He was one of those talented, affable, zealous souls wanted by every Superior. Before he had retired from office he had received confidential word that his name would be submitted to Rome by Monsignor Bedini as bishop of Portland after Monsignor Coskery of Baltimore had declined the office. On receiving the news he had written to Father Stonestreet, the Provincial, urging him to see to it that the General of the Society in Rome prevented the appointment, if seriously considered. When his first term at Holy Cross was completed he was sent to Washington to be pastor of Trinity Church, near Georgetown College. Then, to his delight, he was assigned to Maine. He had fallen in love with New England and wanted to remain there. What the work was did not matter. Yet he was hardly established in Bangor when the Provincial told him he was needed in Baltimore as Procurator of the Province. Ciampi begged him to get someone else: "I am not capable of making a numerical division," he added.

Ciampi may have been baffled by numbers, but he had a talent for making friends. He made many while in Maine, and the records of one friendship have survived in the letters he wrote to Cornelius Hanrahan, a leader of the Catholics of Rockland. Ciampi's first visit to this town was late in December 1855, a few days after Christmas. Bapst asked Hanrahan to meet the former college president at the wharf, directing him to look for a young and fine looking man carrying "a large red carpet bag." This meeting between Hanrahan and Ciampi at the Rockland wharf was repeated frequently during the next two years, and between visits they corresponded. The two continued to exchange letters long after the Maine missions were closed. The last of Ciampi's surviving letters to Hanrahan was written in Portland in the summer of 1876 when the priest returned to Maine to direct the retreats for the Sisters of Mercy in Portland and Bangor. Ciampi told Hanrahan they must arrange a meeting somewhere; anywhere would satisfy him, but he preferred "your own roof, where I spent so many hours with a pleasure I relish still."

Despite the current hostility, Ciampi found the Catholics were increasing in Maine at a surprising rate. This, no doubt, was one of the reasons for the hostility in some quarters and yet it also indicates that racial and religious tolerance was on the increase and blunting much of the hostility. This was especially true in Bangor. According to Ciampi, in a letter dated December 17, 1854, the Jesuits in Bangor were ministering to nearly fifteen thousand Catholics, and in Bangor alone there were four thousand. Actually, this was an underestimate for Bangor. Six thousand, one-third of the city's population, would be more accurate.

The growth of Catholics in Bangor had been remarkable. In the early 1830's, as already noted, there were scarcely a score of Catholics in this town. Then the Irish started to move in steadily. In Bangor, as in all American towns and cities, their manners and rough ways and their religion aroused resentment among natives who were slow to appreciate Celtic charm and wit. The Irish must be given credit for unwittingly introducing the city charter in Bangor. In the fall of 1853 a mob "instigated by race prejudices," according to a local historian, played havoc for two nights with the rude shanties in the Irish section of Bangor. This uncontrolled violence prompted the town leaders to push through a city charter so that Bangor would have a local government able to cope with violence. Some of the Irish saw to it that the members of the new police department earned their money.

On the whole, however, the Irish quickly adjusted to Bangor and a good feeling prevailed between them and the native Americans. Father Ciampi gives us the reason: the Irish of Bangor were a lovable group of people. They had no wealth, but their faith made them generous; they worked hard for what little resources they had, but were quick to help in any project their pastor proposed; they had no refinement and no education, but they had ready wills and hearts untainted with self-conceit. Whatever opposition they encountered made them more active. It was a consolation to work among them, said Ciampi, and not be in some wealthy parish where one had to spend a week polishing a Sunday sermon to deliver to a critical congregation. Others agreed with Ciampi. The Boston *Pilot*, for instance, was willing to admit that "In no city for its size in the country are there more zealous Catholics than in Bangor." There is no reason to think that this was a sales promotion gesture. And some of the Bangor Catholics had a taste for reading; at least, Thomas Nagle had a bookstore with "an assortment of Catholic books for sale."

Bapst decided to give to the Catholics of Bangor a church worthy of their faith and their devotion. This now became his consuming project. St. Michael's, a modest little wooden structure located off Court Street, had long been inadequate for the parish. Father O'Sullivan had plans for a new church before he was removed and had already acquired a lot. When Bapst became pastor he found he had a delicate problem on his hands. First, the lot was in the name of Father O'Sullivan and had not yet been paid for. One thousand dollars were due in June 1854; if not remitted, the lot, along with the two thousand dollars paid, reverted to the owner. Bapst begged the Provincial at the beginning of May to allow Father Moore to remain one more month in Bangor to collect the money. Bapst did not have a high opinion of Moore as a missionary, but he admitted that he was a good collector of money and the money invested in the lot had to be saved.[1]

But the money was a secondary problem. The site for the new church was on Broadway, the fashionable part of the city, and the residents there objected to having a Catholic church in their residential section. Such objections could have been, and no doubt were, anticipated, when the site was selected. It was an unwritten law that Catholic churches were located in inconspicuous places. But Father O'Sullivan and his advisers were unwilling to listen to the objections. That was the situation when Bapst became pastor. He favored a new site, one located near the section of the city where the Catholics lived and one that did not offend the feelings of the Protestants. He met opposition among some of his parishioners and he told them in no uncertain terms that he was pastor. A new site was acquired in the poorer section of the city where the Catholics lived, on York Street where the land drops sharply, ravine like, towards the Penobscot. The Protestants were grateful for the decision, and whatever hard feelings aroused within the parish had disappeared by the time Father Ciampi was praising the Catholics of Bangor.

Bapst avoided serious trouble between the Catholics and the native Americans of Bangor by this decision, and those who are inclined to blame him for provoking the Ellsworth affair should compare his actions in both communities. Bapst was quite willing to avoid offering any reason for arousing ill-feelings and antagonism in Bangor, even to the extent of incurring the opposition of some of his parishioners, when this could be done without compromising conscience and Catholic doctrine. In Ellsworth the forced reading of the Protestant version of the Bible was a matter of conscience and doctrine; the site of a new church was not. If he had insisted on building the church on Broadway, quite probably it would not be standing today. But he was not spoiling for a fight with Protestants, and this was realized in Bangor. That is why the citizens of Bangor rallied to him when he was attacked. If he were "somewhat of a zealot," as he is described in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* his willingness to consult the feelings of the Bangor Protestants and their respect and admiration of him pose an interesting character problem.

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[1] We doubt if this request was granted. The next trace of Moore is the report in the Boston *Pilot* for November 4, 1854 that he did *not* sail, as intended, on the *Arctic* out of Liverpool. It was fortunate that he did not. This ship sank after a crash with another vessel on the night of September 27-28, with a very heavy loss of lives and a valuable cargo.

Patrick C. Keely, the best Catholic architect in the country, designed the new Bangor church. It seems every parish in the East wanted a Keely church; in the fall of 1854 no less than thirty-six churches designed by him were under construction. The cornerstone ceremonies on June 11, 1855 attracted a large crowd, many of whom were Protestants. There was an added attraction in the person of David William Bacon, the first Bishop of Portland. He had been installed on May 31 and so this was his first visit to Bangor. The papers reported that "the utmost order prevailed" at the ceremony. By December construction had progressed so well that Christmas services were held for the first time in the church. But it was far from completed and the cost ($60,000) was staggering even to a generous parish. Bapst did his best to relieve them of the burden. With Bishop Fitzpatrick's permission, he collected in Boston, and on one trip he garnered $850 from the Catholics of the Cathedral and St. Mary's parishes; his salary and his perquisites as pastor, after living expenses were paid, went into the church fund.

The new church was dedicated October 12, 1856, and this was a grand ceremony. Bishop Bacon presided, Father Conway, who had spent many years at Indian Island and Bangor, sang the Mass, Bishop Fitzpatrick preached, and in the sanctuary was Bishop Fitzpatrick's Secretary and Chancellor, James Augustine Healy. As Portland's second bishop, Healy would visit this church frequently. Four thousand persons witnessed the ceremony, according to the newspapers, and if this is an accurate count, hundreds must have been standing on York Street. It was a large brick church of Gothic design, one hundred and fifty feet by seventy, without galleries, seating fifteen hundred.

Everyone, then and since, speaks of its beauty; all acknowledged that it was the finest church in Maine, and others that it was the best brick edifice in the country. When another pastor added the great windows, remarkable for their design and coloring, Bangor had one of the most beautiful church in New England, and the site of the church, once the cause of a bitter dispute, was better than at first feared. It was the first object that caught the eye of those on the Bangor boat as it moved up the beautiful Penobscot to dock. The newspapers were very generous in their praise of Father Bapst and the Catholics of Bangor for their achievement. One Bangor paper thought it a matter of justice to give Bapst the credit due him:

> To his indomitable energy and persistent endeavors our Catholic population owe their enlargements from the narrow and graceless St. Michael's into the present spacious, noble, and beautiful edifice of St. John's.

We do not know if the parishioners were allowed to voice their desires on a new patron saint. We suspect they were not consulted.

The decision to terminate the Jesuit missions involved St. John's parish. It was a large parish and the new bishop wanted it for one of the diocesan priests. Father Stonestreet and his successor, Father Burchard Villiger, S.J., one of Bapst's exiled companions of 1848, considered St. John's necessary to support the work in the other missions. Bapst agreed with them. We do not know when Bishop Bacon decided to appoint a diocesan priest pastor of St. John's, but it was known to Villiger long in advance. The gradual recalling of the Jesuits from Maine until Bapst alone remained was a clear sign of the end of the missions.

Father Kennedy died suddenly at Eastport on September 4, 1855. He was a young priest, only thirty-seven, but his health had never been robust and northern Maine was not kind to one who suffered, as did Kennedy, from rheumatism. He was buried at Pleasant Point, in the chapel of the Indians. Father Moore, at the time of Kennedy's death residing at Holy Cross, took his place at Eastport, leaving the college November 15, 1855. Moore did not remain long in Maine. Father Ciampi was appointed President of Holy Cross for the second time in 1857, and no one replaced him. Father Vetromile was recalled a year later, reporting to Holy Cross September 11, 1858. Father Bapst, the first of the Jesuits to arrive in Maine, was the last to leave. He arrived at the college on October 1, 1859. The students were glad to see him; a half-holiday was declared.

Many in Bangor were not happy to see Bapst leave. By August the news of his removal was known. Both Catholics and Protestants proceeded to embarrass all concerned: Bapst, Bishop Bacon, and the Jesuit Provincial. They did not understand all the reasons behind the decision, but they did understand that they were losing a good pastor and an asset to the city of Bangor. Late in August a petition was circulated requesting his Superiors to allow Bapst to remain in Bangor. By August 31 the petition had been "already very numerously signed by the Protestants of the city, embracing our most prominent citizens." The *Whig and Courier* admitted that this was an "unusual step on the part of the Protestant people of the city," and explained that they acted out of regard for Bapst's "estimable character as a man and a citizen and his eminent services in the cause of temperance and good order." A week later a petition with 1500 signatures, Catholics and Protestants, was forwarded to the Jesuit Provincial.

The petitions did not alter the decision, but they were and still remain a solid refutation to the charge that Bapst was a zealot and a trouble maker. Surely the respectable Protestants of Bangor, who knew him well, were not going out of their way to retain in their midst a zealot; nor would the editor of the *Whig and Courier* have surmised: "It will be difficult, if not impossible, to fill his place." Zealots were plentiful in the 1850's.

The parishioners of St. John's were the real losers. On Tuesday evening, September 27, they gathered at their church to bid him goodbye. A spokesman thanked him for the blessings his labors had brought them and told him that the unqualified approval of him by both Catholics and the Protestants was ample evidence of their appreciation of what he had done for the Catholics and the city of Bangor. They were, however, happy that they could express their feelings in the form of a gift. Then they gave him a purse of seven hundred and sixty-three dollars. Bapst begged to be excused from a formal reply. But he gave them a few words of advice: though pastors change, the Church continues; look to the minister, not to the man; give to his successor the love and confidence and the obedience they had given him. Two days later, on Thursday, he boarded the steamer *Sanford* for Boston.

Bangor had changed since he first saw the city eleven years ago, on August 7, 1848. So had the Penobscot valley and northeastern Maine. He and his companions had constructed seven churches in this area: in Oldtown, Waterville, Ellsworth, Winterport, Rockland, Trescott, and Bangor; they had completed some they had found in the process of building when they arrived, as in Machias and Calais; they had acquired a building of some sorts in the other missions and converted them into churches, as in Pembroke and Belfast. Much had been done, but much more remained to be done.

Many years passed before the Jesuits returned again. Eighty-one years later, in 1942, they returned to conduct Cheverus High School in Portland.

5

MAINE'S FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP
DAVID WILLIAM BACON 1855-1874

DAVID WILLIAM BACON was installed as the first Bishop of Portland on Wednesday morning, May 31, 1855. Accompanied by Bishop John Fitzpatrick of Boston, his arrival in the city had been unobtrusive. St. Dominic's, the only Catholic church in Portland, was crowded for the event, and many hundreds, according to the papers, were unable to gain admittance; those who stood outside did at least get a glimpse of the new bishop as the procession passed from the rectory through the ranks of the members of the Young Catholic's Friend Society. They saw a tall man of imposing presence and courtly manners with a strong, attractive countenance, somewhat sombre and grave for a man in his early forties. In the procession he was preceded by six priests. Two of them were familiar to the spectators: Father O'Donnell, the pastor of St. Dominic's, and Father Patrick O'Bierne, a former pastor who had accompanied the two bishops on the trip to Portland. There were two other diocesan priests, Father Edward Putnam of Whitefield, and Father John B. Daly from Claremont, New Hampshire. The other two were John Bapst, S.J., and Basil Pacciarini, S.J. No doubt the bishop noticed, as he marched towards the church, the absence of Father William McDonald, pastor at Manchester, and Father Patrick Canavan, pastor at Dover, and wondered why. No doubt, too, the spectators noticed the absence of two New England bishops, Louis de Goesbriand of Burlington and Bernard O'Reilly of Hartford.

DIOCESS OF PORTLAND.*

This diocess, which comprises the states of Maine and New Hampshire, is administered for the present by Rt. Rev. John Fitzpatrick, Bishop of Boston.

CHURCHES AND CLERGY.

MAINE.

Portland, St. Dominick's—Rev. John O'Donnell, who also attends *Portsmouth*, *Bath*, *Lewiston*, *Biddeford*, *Saco*, *Gorham*, N. H., *Brunswick*, and other missions.

Whitefield, St. Dennis,	Rev. E. Putnam.
Newcastle, St. Patrick's,	
Augusta, St. Mary's,	
Gardiner, Damariscotta,	

Bangor, St. Michael's,	Rev. John Bapst, S. J., *Superior*, Rev. Ant. F. Ciampi, S. J., Rev. Eugene Vetromille, S. J.
Ellsworth, new church,	
Cherryfield,	
Benedicta, St. Benedict's, new church,	
Indian Old Town, St. Ann's, Penobscot Indians,	
Oldtown, new church,	
Frankfort, lot bought,	
Bucksport, *Belfast*, *Skowhegan*,	
Rockland and *Thomaston*, a lot of ten acres bought with large house on it, which is to be changed into a church.	
Waterville, new church,	

Eastport, St. Joseph's,	Rev. Basil Pacciarini, S. J., *Superior*, Rev. Augustin Kennedy, S. J.
Pleasant Point, St. Ann's, Passamaquoddi Indians,	
Calais, Immaculate Conception,	
" St. Ann's, Passamaquoddi Indians,	
Machias, St. Mary's,	
Trescott, St. Mary's,	
Pembroke, new church,	
Stations at *Plaster Mills*, *Lubec*, *Roberton*, *Bellville*, *Whitimville*, *East Machias*, *Columbia*, *&c.*	

Benedicta, St. Benedict's,	Rev. J. Connolly, of Woodstock, N. B.
Holton, St. Mary's,	

Madawaska. In this section, allotted to the State of Maine by the treaty with Great Britain, there are two Catholic churches, served by clergymen from Quebec. The inhabitants are mostly Canadian French.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Dover, St. Aloysius—Rev. P. Canavan.

Claremont, St. Mary's—Rev. J. B. Daly, O. S. F.

Manchester, St. Ann's,	Rev. W. McDonald.
Nashua, *Concord*, *&c.*	

The other missions of the State are visited occasionally by one of the above named gentlemen.

RECAPITULATION.

Churches	24
Clergymen	10

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* Report furnished with that of Boston diocess.

It was an occasion that called for the presence of all New England bishops, unless it was agreed that this was not the opportune time to stress the growth of the Catholic Church in New England.

Father Bapst, according to the special correspondent of the *Eastern Argus,* officiated at the ceremony. He was in error, however. Bishop Fitzpatrick officiated and also preached. Bapst sang the High Mass. At the end, Bishop Bacon spoke a few words. There was a notable pause before he spoke, and the reporter detected "more of his heart expressed in his face, than is usual in his appearance." From what has survived of his talk, it is obvious he spoke from his heart; he told his audience that the task before him had been imposed, unsought, that he had long labored with people he loved and where he had spent his boyhood's pleasant hours, that he now transferred his affections entirely to the faithful of his diocese. In return he asked that they should ever pray that "I may honor the church." His words were concise, cogent, impressive, confirming the advance notice that he was an able preacher. It was an imposing ceremony, and best of all good order prevailed. After the ceremony had ended, the two bishops and the six priests were guests of William Pitt Preble, a prominent Protestant.[1] In view of what had happened in the State during the preceding year and the attitude still prevailing in some quarters, Preble's act was a bold and encouraging gesture of friendship. It was a happy ending to a day that the Catholics of Maine had long been awaiting. At last they had their bishop in their midst.

1. THE SITUATION IN 1855

The diocese of Portland, embracing Maine and New Hampshire, had been established on July 29, 1853, the same day as the diocese of Burlington. Both these dioceses had been part of the sprawling diocese of Boston, and the decision to establish two more dioceses in New England, making a total of four, was evidence of the growth of Catholicism in this area. But a reason more compelling than the increase of Catholics was that the scattered Catholics of these three states could not be adequately tended by a bishop residing in Boston; one nearer to them was demanded.

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[1] Known locally as Judge Preble, he was a friend of Edward and Winifred Kavanagh. Preble had also invited Bishop Fenwick to his home when St. Dominic's was blessed in 1833.

Burlington had its bishop long before Portland. Bishop Louis de Goesbriand had been installed on November 6, 1853 as the first Catholic bishop of Vermont, and his arrival in the city on the evening of November 5 had aroused considerable talk and no little fear among Catholics in other states. It was hardly the time one expected a rousing public reception to a Catholic bishop, yet Bishop de Goesbriand had been met at the railroad station by a huge crowd, many of them Protestants, a band that played "Hail to the Chief," and a ten-pounder that boomed a salute of welcome. Vermonters, accustomed to unique and strange manifestations of feelings, had accepted the welcome in good grace. If events had progressed as planned, the first bishop of Portland would have been consecrated with Louis de Goesbriand and he would have been installed without the public welcome, at about the same time. But the bishop-elect of Portland, the Very Reverend Henry B. Coskery, Vicar-General of the Baltimore archdiocese, declined the office, and the Holy See was compelled to make another choice.

Bishop James Healy, Bacon's successor, in an address commemorating the centennial of the city of Portland, observed that "several attempts" were made to obtain a bishop for Portland. What the bishop had in mind is not clear, but we should not gather from his words that others, like Coskery, were appointed and declined the office. There was a long interval before Rome acted. There were, however, added reasons for acting slowly. The situation in Maine was nearing the explosion point, and Bishop Fitzpatrick, well informed about the state, was in a better position to direct the Catholics of Maine and New Hampshire than any newcomer would have been. Rome, too, had to be assured that the appointment would not be declined a second time. Probably some were queried in advance. We know that Father Ciampi received confidential news in February 1854 that he was being considered and immediately sought the support of his Superiors to prevent it. We know, too, that the talk in Bangor late in this year was that the "Rev. Mr. Conroy" would be appointed. Ciampi mentions this in a letter dated December 17, referring, no doubt, to Father John J. Conroy, a friend of Bishop John McCloskey and the future bishop of Albany. But this was a rumor. A week before this letter was written, on December 8, Pius IX had appointed the Bishop of Portland: David William Bacon.[1] He had selected for the Catholics of Maine and New Hampshire a man who could face adversity, one who was not easily frightened. A glance at his massive head and strong face tells us that, and the *Eastern Argus* reporter recognized it as he saw the man stand to address the crowded congregation of St. Dominic's.

David Bacon was born in Brooklyn on September 15, 1813, the first child of William and Elizabeth (Redmond) Bacon. The Bacons had been married in old St. Peter's, New York, with Father Benedict Fenwick blessing the marriage, and the child was baptized there. Young David never remembered his father, for he was lost at sea off the coast of African Guinea when the child was two years old, and five months before the birth of his second child, Jane. The widow and her two children were befriended by her sisters, and David became devoted to the Redmonds. This devotion prompted him, when he became the last surviving member of the Bacons and the Redmonds after his aunt, Catherine Redmond, died January 27, 1873, to gather the remains of his loved ones, mother, sister, and two aunts, and inter them in the vault of his episcopal chapel.

Bacon was sent to Montreal College for his classical studies and then, his vocation decided, he entered St. Mary's, Baltimore, for his theological training. Evidently he was one of the better students in the seminary, for he was a member of the faculty of St. Mary's College during three of his seminary years (1834-1837).[1] During the last year he was free to concentrate on his approaching ordination. At the age of twenty-five he was ordained by Archbishop Samuel Eccleston in Baltimore. Brooklyn was still part of the New York diocese, and his first assignments were in Utica and Ogdensburg. Later he was transferred to Belleville, New Jersey, and another transfer sent him to take charge of St. Joseph's in New York, a post vacated by Father John McCloskey, who had been appointed President of St. John's College, Fordham. These two priests, McCloskey and Bacon, became good friends. McCloskey, three years older, had also been born in Brooklyn, had been baptized at St. Peter's, and had studied at Mount St. Mary's. When poor health compelled McCloskey to resign his post as president, he returned to St. Joseph's and Bacon was assigned to organize the new parish of the Assumption in Brooklyn.

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[1] Some authors give April 22, 1855 as the date of the appointment, but December 8, 1854 is the date Bacon himself gives in his Memorandum Book.

Bacon returned to his home town as pastor when the Catholic population was rapidly multiplying and in the wake of a harmful ecclesiastical squabble. One can realize the rapid increase of Catholics by recalling that the diocese of Brooklyn was established only thirty years after the first Catholic church was built. There was no church in Brooklyn when Bacon was born and he had to be taken across the East River to St. Peter's to be baptized. He was ten years old when this first church was blessed; a group of Catholics had organized, purchased the land, and started the church in 1822. They called it St. James', and Bacon was old enough to recall the day, August 28, 1823, when Bishop John Connolly blessed the church. He could remember, too, that the Catholics, after many petitions, had to wait two years before a resident pastor, Father John Farnan, arrived. It would have been better if they had waited longer, for hardly had four years passed when their pastor was suspended. Farnan, however, did not move on; he remained in the locality and persuaded some of his former parishioners to form an "Independent Catholic Church," acquired some property and proceeded to build a church. When his supporters gradually abandoned him, the project failed and the church property was lost by default. Bishop John Hughes eventually purchased the abandoned church and established a new parish, only the third in Brooklyn. He then appointed Bacon pastor of the new parish with the task of completing the church. It was dedicated on June 10, 1842 to the Assumption of Our Lady.

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[1] Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, is frequently given as the institution where he studied theology.

No doubt he was well posted on Father Farnan and the history of the building that was now his parish church.[1] By the time he became pastor, the trouble had been fairly well forgotten and forgiven. But the intimate knowledge of the harm that comes from a recalcitrant priest was part of his pastoral training when he assumed the office of bishop. He had other experiences as a Brooklyn pastor that served him well as a Maine bishop. He had shown a talent for attracting non-Catholics to the faith, with the result that he was instrumental in converting a number of prominent persons of Brooklyn; there was a wide field for this in Maine and New Hampshire. He knew how to face a mob intent on destruction of church property and convince them that they would not escape freely from any act of vandalism; this he had done in 1844, he and a group of Catholics quickly mustered, when a mob marched on St. James', and this display of courage had saved the church. This kind of courage was needed during his first few years in Maine. A cholera epidemic a few years later had tested his charity. In Brooklyn he had made manifest his devotion to Mary, the Mother of God, by dedicating the two churches constructed under his direction to her; so, too, would his cathedral and many of the churches built in Maine and New Hampshire be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. From Brooklyn, too, he brought with him the disease that gradually sapped his strength and prematurely ended his life.

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[1] As curate at St. John's, Utica, Bacon was in a good position to be posted on the doings of this erratic priest, for Farnan was the first pastor of St. John's (1819-1823), was removed by his bishop when he became involved in some trouble, and remained in Utica to embarrass his successor. Farnan was then assigned to St. James' in Brooklyn. These parish disturbances were well publicized.

He was a happy pastor in Brooklyn. He developed the Assumption into a fine parish which included the Navy Yard where many of his Irish parishioners were employed. To care for the expanding parish he built another church, but he elected to remain at the old parish when the new parish was formed. In 1853 Father Bacon had a new bishop, for the diocese of Brooklyn was established on July 25, the same day the dioceses of Burlington and Portland were established. He was still at the Assumption parish when he was elected Bishop of Portland.

Bacon was consecrated at St. Patrick's, New York, on April 22, 1855 by Archbishop John Hughes, assisted by Bishop John Fitzpatrick and Bishop John Loughlin. Bishop McCloskey preached. All four bishops were closely linked with him and his new office. Portland was a suffragan see of the archdiocese of New York and it was natural that his metropolitan be requested to consecrate him; the diocese of Portland had been part of the diocese of Boston and had remained under the jurisdiction of Fitzpatrick until the new bishop had been appointed; Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn had been Bacon's ordinary. Bishop McCloskey was, as we know, a close personal friend of the new bishop.

The bishop's coat of arms had been selected with care; it was inspired by his record as a parish priest and by the work which faced him as the first bishop of an undeveloped diocese. On the shield was a church building. As a pastor he had been a builder of churches, and as a bishop new churches, especially a cathedral, would be among his many pressing problems. In some of the communities of his diocese it would be the problem of rebuilding churches, for since the diocese had been established two churches, in Bath and Manchester, had been destroyed during the Know-Nothing excitement, and another would be destroyed, in Ellsworth, a few days before the first anniversary of his installation.

There was some delay before Bishop Bacon was installed, and some have said that the hostile atmosphere of the diocese had delayed the event. This is doubtful. The winter was a poor time for such a ceremony and a prudent man would have waited for the coming of spring. Besides, the health of his sister may have delayed him. She died a few weeks after the installation. And he was busy collecting money from his friends. As his motto declared, he needed strength and hope (*robur ac spes*) to face the task before him. But he needed money, too. His former parishioners and friends responded generously to his pleas and he brought with him gifts amounting to thirty thousand dollars. There is still another reason for thinking that concern over anti-Catholic feelings did not dictate the installation plans. If it had, Father Bapst would not have been selected for a conspicuous part in the ceremony. He was, as the reporter informed his readers, the "noted" Father Bapst of Bangor, and he did not explain to them why he was noted. They knew. If the bishop and his advisers were anxious to humour the prejudices of some native Americans, Bapst would have been advised to spend the day in Bangor. It could well be that the hundreds attending the ceremony were as curious to see Bapst as they were anxious to see Portland's first Catholic bishop. It was a decision one would expect from a pastor who had stood in front of St. James' and had faced a mob quite similar to the one that had attacked Bapst.

The *Eastern Argus* did not run any notice in its issue of May 31 that the first Catholic bishop of Portland would be installed that day, but it did carry a news item that surely did not escape the notice of Bishop Bacon. All the Know-Nothing lodges, it was reported, had received a questionnaire. After inquiring about the local officials and membership, the men at the top wanted to know how many foreigners were in the town, what percentage of them were Catholics, how many were naturalized citizens, whether they usually voted; and finally they wanted to know if there were a resident priest and a Catholic church in the community. Bishop Bacon had the answers to the last two questions, for he was well acquainted with the statistics for the diocese of Portland given in *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* for the year 1855.

There is no better way to measure the century's growth and changes in Maine than to read the information in this *Directory*. It is a small volume, and a single page is sufficient for the data on the diocese. One should be acquainted with the information on this page, for it tells us who were the pioneer priests of the diocese of Portland.

There were ten priests in the diocese, five diocesan and five Jesuits.[1] Six of the priests were in Maine, indicating that the majority of the Catholics of the diocese were in this state. We are acquainted with these six priests: Bapst, Pacciarini, Ciampi, Kennedy, Vetromile, Father John O'Donnell, pastor of St. Dominic's in Portland, and Father Edward Putnam at Whitefield. Bishop Fitzpatrick had arranged that a priest from Woodstock, New Brunswick, would visit the Catholics of Benedicta and Houlton periodically, and the churches in the Madawaska district were under the care of two priests of the diocese of Quebec. The Catholics in American Madawaska were in a strange position. It seems that they were not under the jurisdiction of Bishop Bacon, although the Bull establishing the diocese declared that the States of Maine and New Hampshire comprised the diocese. Rome, however, had included the Madawaska district, both Canadian and American, in the diocese of St. John, established in 1842, and did not transfer the American Madawaska to Portland when this diocese was established. It would take some years before this odd situation was rectified. Bishop Bacon's diocese was obviously ill staffed, but so too were other dioceses founded at this time. Bishop de Goesbriand of Burlington had started with ten churches and five priests; there were only twelve churches and about 15,000 Catholics in all Long Island when Brooklyn became a diocese.

In O'Donnell and Putnam the bishop had two priests who lent considerable prestige to the church in Maine. Father

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[1] With the departure of Father Pacciarini shortly after the installation of Bacon there were only four Jesuits.

Putnam of Whitefield also had the care of the Catholics of Damariscotta, Augusta, and Gardiner. A convert with a talent for painting that could seldom be exercised, he was devoted to his parishioners and was in turn loved and respected. He bequeathed to the Catholics many lasting memories, one of which was his dislike for collections and another the way his sole pet, a small gray donkey, followed him about as a dog. Father Putnam's great desire was an academy for his parish children taught by Sisters, and an orphanage for the unfortunate ones of the district, and in this project he was encouraged by words and gifts by Winifred Kavanagh, sister of Edward Kavanagh. But he died in 1863 with his dream unrealized. Father O'Donnell, according to the *Directory*, was also pastor of the Catholics in Bath, Lewiston, Brunswick, Portsmouth, Gorham, and other missions in New Hampshire; Portland itself needed his full attention. He was soon transferred to Nashua to make room for Father Müller, the first Vicar-General of the diocese. This was one of those moves, the preference of a newcomer over a pioneer, that could have aroused resentment, but O'Donnell was not disturbed by the preference. He spent twenty-six years at Nashua, built the first Catholic church, the Immaculate Conception, in this town, and was elected to the school committee. The city of Nashua showed its respect for him by naming a public school in his honor; the bishop recognized his worth by appointing him Vicar-General when Father Müller died.

There were only three priests in New Hampshire. Father John Daly was at St. Mary's in Claremont, the oldest Catholic church in the state. He had a long missionary career to his credit. A Franciscan, he had been accepted by Bishop Fenwick in 1837 and sent to Vermont to help the pioneer priest of Vermont, Jeremiah O'Callaghan. These two priests had laid the foundations for the diocese of Burlington, with O'Callaghan covering the northern section and Daly the southern section of the state. Daley had also extended his activities into New Hampshire where some of his more exciting ventures took place. One of his trips to Manchester made good dinner conversation; while offering Mass in a rented hall, he and the altar and the congregation quite suddenly went crashing through to the basement. An inspection revealed that the floor supports had been cut the day before.

Shortly after the diocese of Burlington was established he returned to Boston and was assigned to Claremont and the neighboring towns. He was now nearing the end of his active life as a missionary. So, too, was Father Patrick Canavan, who was pastor of St. Mary's in Dover. This was the church built by Father Ffrench, the second Catholic church in New Hampshire. Canavan had been appointed to this parish in 1834 and, after more than twenty years of generous work in this town and other missions, old age and infirmities were undermining his activities. The third New Hampshire priest, Father William McDonald, was stationed at St. Ann's in Manchester. He had been in this city since 1848 and shortly after his arrival he purchased a lot for a church and started to construct a church. There is a telling story behind this lot. The Catholics of Manchester could have had a lot of land for a church free, if they so desired. The Amoskeag Company made the offer. But the lot was on the outskirts of the city, far away from the residential sections. That is where the important people of Manchester wanted the Catholic church, knowing that the Catholics, mainly Irish, would gravitate towards that section; such a migration would free the good city of Manchester from frequent contact with undesirables. Bishop Fitzpatrick advised the Catholics to select and buy a lot of their own choice. St. Ann's was built in 1849-1850, and was built in such a hurry that it had to be immediately reconstructed. By the time that Bishop Bacon came to Portland, the Catholics of Manchester had only half a church. The reconstructed church had been heavily damaged during the clash between Know-Nothings and Catholics on July 4, 1854. There was another church in New Hampshire, although the 1855 *Directory* does not mention it. It was the unfinished church in Portsmouth, started in 1852 by Father Charles McCallion. His successor completed it in 1855, and the church was fittingly dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, proclaimed a dogma of the Catholic faith the previous December 8.

It is obvious from the location of the churches and the priests in the diocese of Portland that the great majority of Catholics were living in Maine.[1] This is readily explained. The Irish Catholics had settled along New England's coastal and river towns, and New Hampshire's coast was restricted and coastal towns few. So they settled first in Dover and Portsmouth. An industry like the cotton mills of the Amoskeag Company in Manchester gradually attracted them inland. Claremont was an exception; the church there owed its beginnings to the extraordinary conversion and influence of the Barber family. Besides, New Hampshire discriminated against Catholics. A constitutional clause prevented a Catholic from holding a state office. Only Protestants were eligible. The Irish were political-minded and were slow to settle where these conditions prevailed. The converts to the Catholic faith among the New Hampshire natives found the constitutional provision that made them second-class citizens extremely painful, and their unfortunate status had occasioned a sharp rebuke to the citizens of New Hampshire by the editor of the Bangor *Whig and Courier*. The editorial (in the issue of January 26, 1854) had been occasioned by an article that stated there was only one Catholic priest in the state of New Hampshire; the editor thought this was an error, adding that he was sure there was a resident priest in Manchester, Portsmouth, Concord, and Dover, and probably in Nashua, Claremont, and New Market, too. The editor was misinformed on the number of priests in New Hampshire, but his comments on the constitutional provision barring Catholics from political office were sound and timely. He had known, he wrote, "several" converts to the Catholic faith in New Hampshire and "they keenly feel the full weight of that anti-republican and oppressive provision." Yet the citizens of the state were reluctant to remove this bar and did not do so until 1876.

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[1] There were twenty churches (not eight as one sometimes reads) in Maine when Bacon was installed. This number includes the two churches in Madawaska and the three Indian chapels (at Indian Island, Pleasant Point, and Calais). The other fifteen churches were in Portland, Augusta, Damariscotta, Whitefield, Bangor, Eastport, Benedicta, Houlton, Machias, Calais, Trescott, Pembroke, Oldtown, Waterville, and Ellsworth. The last seven of these were in the missions under the care of the Jesuits and had been completed or constructed since 1848.

We do not know how many Catholics there were in the diocese in 1855. Bishop Fitzpatrick did not venture to offer an estimate in submitting statistics for the 1855 *Directory*. According to the next issue, the first with information supplied by Bishop Bacon, there were 40,000. This is an underestimate. Indeed, Bishop Bacon was not concerned about publishing the figures on Catholics in his diocese. We can be certain that there was an increase during the next decade, yet the number of Catholics in his diocese was still 40,000 in 1865. Only once during these years is there a variance in the Catholic population of the diocese of Portland; in 1861 it was 45,000, but it reverted back to the original figure next year. Possibly he did not want to arouse any fears among the natives over the growth of the church. But he did build churches during these years and new churches are signs of growth, signs that would not escape the eyes of those perturbed by the advance of Rome.

There were more Catholics in Maine than generally suspected, far more than in New Hampshire, and the see of the new diocese was located in Maine for that reason. Thirty thousand Catholics, counting the Madawaskans, in 1855 would probably not be far from the exact figure for Maine. This number, much higher than usually given, is based on Father Ciampi's estimate of fifteen thousand Catholics under the care of Jesuits working out of Bangor. Ciampi was more inclined to understate than to exaggerate; for instance, he counted only four thousand in Bangor, whereas there were nearer six thousand Catholics. If we add the Catholics in the Madawaska district, in the Eastport area (Eastport, Machias, Calais, Trescott, Pembroke, Houlton, Benedicta, and other missions in this section), in the towns along the Kennebec (Augusta, Gardiner, Whitefield, Damariscotta, Bath), in Portland, and the missions confided to Father O'Donnell of St. Dominic's, thirty thousand will not appear excessive. There were many towns where parishes could be established, if priests were available. The Catholics of Biddeford, for instance, were eagerly awaiting a resident priest and received one, Father Thomas Kenny, shortly after Bishop Bacon arrived. Without any delay, they hired Patrick C. Keely to draft the plans for a lanced Gothic brick church with a seating capacity of eight hundred. They were so happy with the prospects of their beautiful church that the building committee penned a letter to the Boston *Pilot* (July 12, 1856) informing the Catholics of New England that "in a short time" the Catholics of Biddeford would be worshipping in their own parish church. The situation was much the same in Lewiston where the Catholics purchased an abandoned Baptist church late in 1855 or early in 1856, and moved it to another site, on Lincoln Street. In 1857 they had a resident priest, Father John Cullin. One did not really know how many Catholics had settled in Maine cities and towns until a church was planned and a priest appointed to organize the parish. Even though there were more Catholics in Maine than generally conceded, they were a small minority, about 30,000 in a population of 605,500. The Catholics were well aware of this fact.

2. SEARCHING FOR PRIESTS

Bishop Bacon probably found it difficult to select the most pressing problem facing him as he retired to his room on Brackett Street after the guests at his installation ceremony had departed. There were so many clamoring for attention. But whatever problem he considered, whatever plan he drafted in his mind, depended on priests, and the diocese was sorely undermanned. The diocese needed more clergymen, and he could not expect any immediate help from the Catholics of his diocese. He had to turn to other dioceses, American, Canadian, European. He had to search for them, beg for them, attract them, although he had little to offer except hard work with little compensation. Appraising his achievements during his score of years as Bishop, one is inclined to select his success in building up the clergy as his greatest. The story of this achievement is told, briefly and sometimes illegibly, in a small, black covered memorandum book with the names of and some information on the priests accepted or ordained for the diocese of Portland by Bishop Bacon. Under his direction, they fashioned the ground floor of the present diocese, building on the foundations laid by the bishops of Boston.

Before the year 1855 had ended there were nine new priests in the diocese. Within eight months the number of priests had doubled, for the original five diocesan priests and four Jesuits (Moore replaced Kennedy who died on September 4) were still there. This was a remarkable increase and gives the answer to those wondering why the diocese was established in the first place. Maine and New Hampshire needed the exclusive attention of a bishop.

Many dioceses and countries contributed to this increase. From Lyons, France, came Father J. B. Nycolin who was immediately assigned to the French-Canadians in Waterville; from Germany, and more immediately from the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Louis, came Father Eugene Müller whom Bishop Bacon selected for his Vicar-General and theological adviser. From the diocese of Buffalo came Father Patrick McIvers who was assigned to Houlton and Benedicta; from the diocese of New Orleans came Father Patrick Canavan, called "the Younger" to distinguish him from the pastor of Dover, who was appointed pastor of the unfinished church in Portsmouth and of the Catholics in Exeter and New Market; from Ireland came Father John O'Reilly, the first pastor of Concord who died suddenly February 15, 1856, seven months after arriving in Maine; from the diocese of Brooklyn came Father Peter McLaughlin who was assigned, in the bleak month of November, the delicate task of replacing the church in Bath, destroyed the previous year by a hostile element of the town; from the Augustinian Order came Father Charles Egan who at first remained in Portland and then, in 1856, was appointed pastor of St. Mary's in Augusta with Gardiner as a mission and who realized the old dream of the Catholics of Gardiner by building St. Joseph's church. The other two, Thomas Kenny and John Brady, deserve special attention in any history of the diocese of Portland for they were the first two priests ordained by Bishop Bacon in Portland for the diocese.

One will notice that the Catholic *Directory* for 1856 lists three priests attached to St. Dominic's in Portland: Eugene Müller, now the pastor, and two assistants, Thomas Kenny and John Brady. Since Bishop Bacon did his share of pastoral work in the city, one wonders why four priests were located in Portland when other cities and towns were in need of pastors. There was a good reason for this. Both priests had been recently ordained by Bishop Bacon and he kept them near him for a few months before imposing on them the heavy burdens of a pastor of souls. There was no waiting then for a score of years as a curate before assuming the charge of a parish; at best a few months with the bishop was the only preparation.

Thomas Kenny was the first priest ordained by Bishop Bacon in Maine. This was probably the bishop's first ordination, the first man he raised to the priesthood, and it is obvious from the bishop's memorandum book that he had a fatherly affection for the young priest. It seems that he began to record the new priests of the diocese in this small volume when he ordained Kenny, for he is the first priest listed although others had been accepted into the diocese before him. And Bacon has added a biographical sketch of his first priest, some of it obviously added after his premature death. Whereas with the others listed in the book, the bishop has given the bare essentials for those already ordained: from what diocese, when accepted, where assigned, and unhappily in some instances, when dismissed, or for those ordained by him, the signed promise of obedience, the dates of receiving the orders of subdeacon,

deacon, and priesthood, and where assigned. Bishop Bacon, aware that later generations would be interested in the first priest ordained in and for the diocese of Portland, devotes two pages to Kenny.

The Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1855, was a milestone in the history of the diocese. On that day the ancient ceremony of ordination had been enacted, secretly it seems, in the small sanctuary of St. Dominic's, where Bishop Bacon, with Thomas Kenny kneeling in his presence, had spoken the words: receive the power to sacrifice to God and to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead. This was the first ordination to the priesthood in Maine. The major orders preceding the priesthood had already been conferred on Kenny; he had become a subdeacon on August 5 and a deacon August 12, the day he promised to obey his bishop and to serve wherever assigned. There is no mention in the bishop's memorandum book of minor orders; he had, no doubt, received them in Ireland. Kenny, thirty-two years old, had waited a long time and had journeyed far in order to be the first priest ordained in Maine.

Kenny was born in Ireland, in the diocese of Kilmore. He had, we are told by the bishop, a desire for the American mission. If this was a desire entertained as a youth then his vocation was long delayed, and it could have been delayed by the death of his father that apparently interrupted his classical studies. Kenny arrived in Boston around the year 1847. Probably his desire to be a priest now revived. Some time in 1849 he enrolled at Holy Cross College, or, as the bishop says, at "the Wooster college." He was then twenty-six years old, and it required no little courage and considerable determination to mingle with boys ten to fifteen years younger. The college records show that he remained only one year, and his return to the classroom at his age indicates that his classical studies had not been completed in Ireland and that his desire for the American mission had revived. He then went to Indiana. We do not know what sent him westward, but once there his health was undermined by a siege of fever and ague. He then moved

DIOCESE OF PORTLAND.

ESTABLISHED 1855.

Embracing the States of Maine and New Hampshire.

LATE BISHOP.

Rt. Rev. D. W. BACON, D.D., First Bishop, consecrated April 22, 1855, died at New York, Nov. 5, 1874.

ADMINISTRATOR.

Very Rev. JOHN O'DONNELL.

CHANCELLOR.

Rev. EUGENE O'CALLAGHAN.

CHURCHES AND CLERGY.

MAINE.

Portland, Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Rev. Denis Bradley, Rev. John Power.
  Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, Rev. John Power.
  St. Aloysius' Chapel, Rev. John Power.
  St. Dominic's, Rev. Thomas Wallace, Rev. John F. McKenna.
  St. Joseph's, Calvary Cemetery, Rev. Thomas Wallace.
  Chapel of Convent of Ladies of Mercy, Rev. John F. McKenna.
  Orphan Asylum, Rev. John F. McKenna.
Augusta, St. Mary's, Rev. Eugene O'Callaghan.
Bath, St. Mary's, Rev. Lewis Mutsaers.
Bangor, Rev. Edw. McSweeney, Rev. Anthony Siniscalchi.
  St. Mary's, Rev. John Murphy.
  Chapel of St. Francis Xavier, Rev. Edw. McSweeney.
Benedicta, St. Benedict's, Rev. Jas. Cassidy.
Belfast, Rev. P. Coffee.
Bremer, Rev. Anthony Siniscalchi
Brunswick, St. John Baptist, Rev. Lewis Mutsaers.
Bucksport, Rev. P. Coffee.
Carmel, Rev. John Murphy.
Calais, Immaculate Conception, Rev. Owen Conlan.
  St. Anne's (Indian), Rev. Eug. Vetromile, Rev. Owen Conlan.
Cherryfield, Rev. P. Coffee.
Damariscotta, St. Patrick's, Rev. D. McFaul.
Dion Plantation, Fort Kent, St. Louis' (French), Rev. F. Sweron.
  Wallagas, St. Charles', Rev. L. Demers.
  Fish River, St. Joseph's, Rev. L. Demers.
  Ste. Luce, Rev. Chas. Sweron.
Dexter, Rev. D. Halde.
Eastport, St. Joseph's, Rev. Eugene Vetromile.
Ellsworth, St. Joseph's, Rev. P. Coffee.
Frankfort, Rev. P. Coffee.
Gardiner, St. Mary's, Rev. Eugene O'Callaghan.
Hallowell, St. Mary's, Rev. Eugene O'Callaghan.
Hermon Pond, Rev. John Murphy.
Hampden, Rev. John Murphy.
Houlton, St. Mary's, Rev. Luke Bartley.
Indiantown, St. Ann's, Rev. Eugene Vetromile.
Kennebunk, Rev. John Brady.
Lewiston, St. Michael's, Rev. Clement Mutsaers, Rev. Thos. O'Neil
  St. Joseph's (French), Rev. P. Heney.
Lubec, Rev. M. McDonald.
Machias, Rev. M. McDonald.
Newport, Rev. John Murphy.
Oldtown, St. Ann's (Indian), Rev. John Duddy.
  St. Mary's, Rev. John Duddy.
Orono, St. Mary's, Rev. John Duddy.
Pembroke, St. John's, Rev. Eugene Vetromile.
Pleasant Point, St. Anne's (Indian), Rev. Eugene Vetromile
Richmond, Rev. Lewis Mutsaers.
Robbinstown, Rev. Owen Conlan.
Rockland, St. David's, Rev. Jas. Peterson.
Skowhegan, St. John Baptist, Rev. D. Halde.
Togus Military Hospital, Rev. Eugene O'Callaghan.

Sadliers' Catholic Directory (New York 1875) pp. 298-301

Thomaston, Rev. Jas. Peterson.
Trescott, St. Patrick's, Rev. M. McDonald.
Madawaska, St. David's, Rev. P. Trudel.
Mt. Carmel, Rev. P. Trudel.
St. Bruno, Rev. M. Hubert.
Caribou, Rev. M. Hubert.
Fort Fairfield, Rev. Luke Bartley.
Vassalboro, St. Mary's, Rev. D. Halde.
Waterville, St. Francis of Sales, Rev. D. Halde, Rev. P. Lunney.
Whitefield, St. Denis, Rev. D. McFaul.
Winterport, Rev. D. Coffee.
Winn, Rev. Jas. Cassidy.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Bath, Rev. I. Noiseux.
Claremont, St. Mary's, Rev. C. O'Sullivan.
Columbia, Rev. Isidore Noiseux.
Concord, St. John's, Rev. John Barry.
Dover, St. Aloysius', Rev. James Drummond.
Exeter, St. Bernard's, Rev. Charles Egan.
Gonic, Rev. James Carnes.
Gorham, Rev. Isidore Noiseux.
Fisherville, Rev. John Barry.
Great Falls, St. Michael's, Rev. P. Canavan.
Greenburgh, Rev. Thomas Walsh.
Keene, St. Bernard's, Rev. D. Murphy.
Franklin, Rev. M. Goodwin.
Laconia, St. Mary's, Rev. M. Goodwin.
Lake Village, Rev. M. Goodwin.
Lancaster, St. Mary's, Rev. Isidore Noiseux.
Littleton, Rev. Isidore Noiseux.
Manchester, St. Anne's, Rev. Wm. McDonald.
Convent of Mercy, Rev. Wm. McDonald, Rev. M. Danner
St. Joseph's, Rev. John O'Brien.
St. Augustine (French), Rev. A. Chevalier.
Mason, Rev. P. Hoolahan.
Milford, Rev. P. Hoolahan.
Nassau, Immaculate Conception, Very Rev. John O'Donnell, V.G.
St. Louis' (French), Rev. J. N. Millette.
Newmarket, St. Patrick's, Rev. Charles Egan.
Portsmouth, St. Mary's, Rev. Thomas Walsh, Rev. P. McCaffery.
Rochester, Rev. James Caines.
Salmon Falls, St. Mary's, Rev. M. Bouvier.
Peterboro, Rev. D. Murphy.
Suncook, Rev. John Barry.
Wilton, Rev. P. Hoolahan.

INSTITUTIONS.

Convent and Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, at Portland. Number of Religious, 20. Sister Mary Francis, Superior.

Orphan Asylum, at Portland. Number of children in the house, 45. Choir Sisters, 2; lay Sisters, 5.

Parochial Schools of the Cathedral. Pupils, 500.

Parochial Schools, at St. Dominic's. Pupils, 400.

Mother-House of the Sisters of Mercy, at Manchester, New Hampshire. Professed choir Sisters, 21; choir novices, 14; lay Sisters, 8.

Orphan Asylum, opened in May, 1870, adjoining the convent. Number of children already in the institution, 47; professed choir Sisters, 2; lay Sisters, 6.

Academy and Boarding School, under the charge of these ladies.

Also *Parochial Schools of St. Ann's and St. Joseph's.*

Parochial Schools, for Canadians, in the Madawaska territory and elsewhere.

House of the same Ladies of Mercy, in Bangor, with parochial schools, academy, and boarding-school. Professed choir Sisters, 7; lay Sisters, 3.

Parochial Schools, under the charge of lay teachers, are attached to several of the churches of the larger congregations.

Convents and Academies at Bangor and Whitefield, under charge of Ladies of Mercy; also, Parochial Schools.

RECAPITULATION.

Churches	58	Female religious institutions	4
Churches building	6	Asylums	2
Priests	52	Female academies	6
Ecclesiastical students	20	Free schools	20

Catholic population, 80,000.

eastward to Canada and became acquainted with a priest who recommended him to Bishop Bacon. Where and when he studied theology, we are not told. But the bishop recognized his worth and consented to ordain him for the diocese of Portland. The two became good friends, the bishop was only ten years his senior, and they evidently had many talks together; the bishop tells us that Kenny spoke frequently and with affection of his mother, presumably still alive.

Father Kenny remained at St. Dominic's about three months after ordination, acquiring from the bishop and the pastor the details of pastoral theology. In November he was appointed pastor of the Catholics of Biddeford, Saco, and Kennebunk, with his residence in Biddeford where the bishop had purchased a house for a rectory. In Biddeford he found the Catholics eager to build a church and he, too, entered into their eagerness; indeed he expressed an anxiety to leave behind him a monument, as if he had an inkling of an early death and the time for building was brief. Possibly the idea of a letter from the Biddeford Catholics to the readers of the *Pilot* that they soon would have their own church was inspired by their pastor. He did not live to see the church completed. He died during a visit to Boston on February 28, 1857. He had been a priest less than two years, but by his piety and zeal he had honored the priesthood and the diocese of Portland. He was a model for the future priests of Maine. As a tribute to the first ordained priest of the diocese, Bishop Bacon buried him in the vault of the Cathedral chapel.

Eight weeks later John Brady was ordained, the second priest to be ordained in Maine and for the diocese of Portland. Brady was, like Kenny, from Ireland, but the bishop has not given us any biographical information about him. Even his diocese has been omitted. The powers of subdiaconate were conferred on October 8, and on that day he gave Bishop Bacon his promise of obedience. Ten days later he became a deacon and on All Saints he was ordained a priest. He remained at St. Dominic's for some weeks, at school really with the bishop and the pastor his instructors in pastoral theology. In July 1856 the bishop found it necessary to send him to Claremont, New Hampshire.

Father Daly, the pioneer priest of Vermont who had returned to the diocese of Boston after Bishop de Goesbriand had become the first bishop of Burlington only to find himself in the new diocese of Portland, had decided to seek work in another field. He had spent nineteen years in Vermont and New Hampshire and though he was somewhat inclined towards the eccentric, these foibles were on the pleasant side and did not detract from his solid achievements in building up the church in the southern sections of these two states. Father Daly enjoyed telling friends that he never spent two nights under the same roof. It could be that Bishop Bacon attempted to persuade him that it would be better for the Catholics, if not for himself, if he tarried longer in Claremont, now his residence. There is a hint of this in an observation found in a history of St. Mary's of Claremont; the writer noted that Father Daly was a missioner at large and "could not strictly be called pastor of Claremont." In any case, in the early spring of 1856, Father Daly, without Bacon's approval, went to New York. He was apparently still a member of the Franciscan Order and had no intentions of retiring. Eleven years later he was doing parish work in New York and then he became an institutional chaplain. He was chaplain of the Girls' Orphan Asylum on Prince Street when he died, in his seventy-eighth year, on December 11, 1872.

John Brady's appointment as Daly's successor at Claremont was the beginning of a lengthy and fruitful pastoral life that ended with a long tenure in Biddeford, where Thomas Kenny, Portland's first ordained priest, had started and ended his brief priestly career. He spent six years at Claremont, with Keene, East Jaffrey, Peterborough, and Greenville as missions to the south, Franklin to the east, Lancaster and Littleton to the north. From Greenville to Lancaster was about a hundred and thirty miles, and if Father Brady had to minister to Catholics in the villages between these two towns he soon realized that Father Daly's remark about never spending two nights under the same roof was not spoken entirely in jest. Keene was the important station, for the building of the Cheshire railroad in 1845 attracted Irish laborers who started to settle in this town. In his first year at Claremont, Brady purchased and converted a building into a church and offered Mass there monthly. In 1862 he transferred his residence to Keene, becoming thereby the first resident pastor. But shortly after this move he was transferred to Dover. Then in 1870 he was appointed to St. Mary's, Biddeford, the church Father Kenny was so anxious to make his monument.

Father Brady spent a quarter of a century in Biddeford, twenty years as the busy pastor and the last five in semi-retirement. In his declining years he may have considered how he, with God's help, had put an end to any Canterbury tales linked with the rectory. Indeed, he had had a few misgivings about the new assignment when offered to him. St. Mary's had had six pastors in its fifteen years of parish life by 1870; one, Brady's immediate predecessor, had remained only a few months; another had had a respectable tenure of eight years before he was changed. But the other four had died quite unexpectedly a year or so after their appointment. No doubt Brady was aware of this during his first few years in Biddeford and dwelt on it again in a more pleasant way during his retirement.

It seems unfair to dismiss his quarter of a century of pastoral life with only a passing mention, yet one does not add much to an appreciation of his work by adding that he improved the interior of the church, completed the rectory, and purchased land for a school. It is in his work among his poor parishioners that one will discover his achievements, and they are not recorded for the inquiring historian. His parish had been reduced shortly before his arrival and during the brief tenure of Father Luke F. Bartley, his immediate predecessor. The large influx of French-Canadians had demanded a new parish and Father

John F. Ponsardin was appointed to organize it and to build the parish church. In Bishop Bacon's memorandum book there is no information about this new pastor; we are not told where he came from and when he was accepted by the diocese, but Biddeford seems to have been his only assignment and quite probably the bishop had accepted him at this time for this new parish. The absence of notations in the memorandum book would indicate that he did not cause Bishop Bacon any trouble, but he succeeded in giving Bishop Healy many restless nights and wretched days.

In July 1890 Father Brady retired from the active administration of St. Mary's, but remained at the parish. Five years later, as the fortieth anniversary of his priesthood was approaching, he returned to Ireland. Ireland had given the diocese of Portland its first two ordinandi. One was buried in the vault of the Cathedral chapel; it was only fair that the other be buried in Ireland.

The numerical gain in the number of priests during 1856 was slight. Four were added during the year, but the departure of Daly and the death of O'Reilly had reduced the eighteen of the previous year by two. And deaths and departures soon reduced the four of this year to one. In June, Bishop Bacon accepted a priest from the diocese of Philadelphia, and neither the bishop nor the Catholics of Eastport, where he spent his brief stay in the diocese, discovered his Christian name or got his family name straight. He was Father Moshall (also Mosher and Mochell), who returned "to his homeland" in the spring of 1857. Father John Cullen, from the diocese of Hartford, was accepted in July and assigned to Lewiston; he left the diocese, at the request of the bishop, one year later. It was no easy task to staff the diocese with zealous pastors.

The other two priests of this year were ordained for the diocese by Bishop Bacon: Michael Lucey and Patrick Bacon. Although both had become deacons on the same day, June 26, they were ordained on different days, a practice the bishop continued to follow in all ordinations. Lucey was ordained a priest on June 29 and Bacon on August 15. It could well be that the bishop wanted to mark the first anniversary of Maine's first ordination. Father Patrick Bacon, like Father Kenny, lived only a few years after his ordination. He was first assigned to Thomaston and Rockland, and then transferred to St. Mary's in Biddeford as Kenny's successor. He died during a visit to his parents in Ireland on February 18, 1859. In Father Lucey, however, the bishop found a man badly needed, – a builder of churches.

One could hardly find a better place to test the talents of an authentic church builder than the diocese of Portland during its early years. Michael Lucey was pastor of three different parishes during his twenty-two years as a priest in Maine and New Hampshire and he built four churches; in each instance the church he built was the first constructed by Catholics in the town. Only death, a year after he had completed his fourth church, ended his career as church builder. Bishop Bacon realized he had a church builder shortly after he appointed the recently ordained priest as pastor of Great Falls (now Somersworth), New Hampshire.

As an example of the problems of a new diocese, it is well to recall what Father Michael Lucey achieved for his bishop and the Catholics of the diocese of Portland. He had been a priest less than two months when he was told to go to Great Falls and attend the Catholics of that town, and those of nearby Salmon Falls and Rochester. We do not know his age but he was probably quite young and recently from Ireland. He had received both minor and major orders in Portland at the hands of Bishop Bacon during the month of June. He was ordained a priest on June 29 and assigned to his parish on August 24. He was, of course, alone and a stranger to his parishioners. He resided at Great Falls, living in the house of a Catholic and there offering Mass until he was able to rent a house for residence and a hall for religious services. Without delay he persuaded the Catholics to build a church and plans were progressing well until the local mills, the main source of financial support of his parishioners, failed. Plans for a church in Great Falls were suspended, but not cancelled. He concentrated on Salmon Falls and persuaded the Catholics there to build a church. St. Mary's was completed and ready for the dedication ceremony by 1859, and Bishop Bacon paid his first visit to Salmon Falls to dedicate the church. The bishop's visit inspired the Catholics of Great Falls, who had recovered from the failure of the mills, to revive their plans for a church; by 1860 Holy Trinity was completed. The Catholics of these two towns were neither numerous nor wealthy, but now could with reasonable pride claim that they had their own church, whereas larger and wealthier Catholic parishes in the diocese still attended Mass in rented halls or abandoned Protestant churches converted into shabby chapels.

Father Lucey did not long enjoy the two new churches. In 1862 he was transferred to Lewiston, exchanging places with Father James H. Durnin. Lewiston and Great Falls had received their first resident pastors at the same time, but Lewiston had had three pastors within those six years: John Cullen, Daniel Whelan, and James H. Durnin, and the Catholics were still worshipping in the remodeled, abandoned Baptist church that Father McLaughlin of Bath had purchased in 1855 and moved to another site. It was not quite the same church, for it had once been partially destroyed by fire and repaired and again nearly destroyed by fire and rebuilt. On both occasions there were strong suspicions that the fire was not accidental. I suppose it could be said that the Catholics of Lewiston had built a church if the combined costs of repairing were computed, and there was no point in expending money and energy on a costly church if the end of it would only be a fine bonfire. By 1862 the bishop evidently thought a new church would be reasonably safe and sent Father Lucey to build it. A lot on Main Street was purchased, the building was started, the cornerstone ceremony, with the bishop officiating, took place June 13, 1864, and the church, St. Joseph's, was ready for services in 1867.

The pioneer Catholic of Lewiston, Patrick O'Donnell, did not live to see the church constructed. O'Donnell was a contractor who had come to this community to construct a canal and the Continental Mill, and the many Irish laborers he hired for these and many other projects formed the first Catholic colony in Lewiston. In 1850 he married Catherine Mangan, a young Irish immigrant from County Kerry who came to Lewiston in 1847 when she was twenty-one, and the two made the trip to Augusta so that their marriage could be blessed by Father O'Reilly. The O'Donnell home then became a place for Catholics to gather and the visiting priest to stay. Patrick died in 1863 after Father Lucey arrived, but before construction of the church began; Mrs. O'Donnell lived on for many years and when she died in 1913, she was the last of the Catholic pioneers of Lewiston. The church in Maine owes much to families like the O'Donnells.

St. Joseph's was completed as quickly as one could have expected, for the war had suspended most construction, and the expenses of the church were heavy, – about eighty thousand dollars. Hardly had the church been finished when it was found too small for the growing Catholic population of Lewiston. The French-Canadians accounted for the sudden increase, and in 1859 the basement of St. Joseph's was given to them and a curate appointed to serve them. The next year a new parish for the French-speaking Catholics was established and the old Catholic chapel was again opened and used as their church until they could build a suitable one. This was the time when a second Catholic church started to appear in the cities of Maine and New Hampshire. The date of the second church usually marked the arrival in large numbers of the French-Canadians into the diocese.

Exeter, New Hampshire, was Father Lucey's next field of activity. He went there in 1875; by 1877 St. Michael's was ready for services. This parish had been founded in 1859, three years after Lucey had gone to Great Falls. Five pastors had preceded him, and yet, in 1875, the church was only a rented building. The Catholics had purchased an abandoned Protestant church and converted it to their own use, but another pastor had sold both the church and the residence, acquired another residence and used a nearby building for church services. There are no records to explain this transaction, but it does not today have the appearance of progress and improvement, although it may have been part of a plan to build a new church. If so, Father Lucey did the building after purchasing another site and acquiring the services of a Boston architect. He had one year to enjoy the new St. Michael's. In 1878 the builder of churches died. His was the first funeral in St. Michael's.

With each year the needs for more priests increased and year by year Bishop Bacon managed to add a few more priests to meet the needs. Now and then he would accept a priest from another diocese, regret his decision later, and be compelled to release him. In 1857 seven new names were added to the roster of the diocesan clergy, four of them from other dioceses (Louisville, New Brunswick, Brooklyn, and St. Hyacinth) and the other three ordained for the diocese. Bacon himself ordained two of them, James P. Perrache, born in France, on February 24, and Matthew Murphy, an Irishman, on August 28. Henry Gillen, another Irishman, who succeeded Bapst in Bangor after a few years at Eastport, was ordained for the diocese of Portland in Montreal. The gradual increase of priests ordained for the diocese was encouraging, although the total years of service of these seven was far short of the expected, due to deaths and departures, voluntary or otherwise. One remained three months in the diocese; another less than five years; little can be discovered about a third; only Father Isidore Noiseaux, of the four transferred priests accepted in 1857, outlived the bishop. The three newly ordained priests served the diocese a total of thirty years, a total far below the normal expectancy. But that was one of the disappointments a bishop building a new diocese had to expect.

The next three years were lean: none in 1858, one in 1859, three in 1860; all four priests had served elsewhere before the bishop accepted them. Death and departure soon terminated the services of two of them; the other two were Eugene Vetromile, one of Bapst's companions on the Maine missions, and James T. Durnin, a native of Eastport, Maine. Eugene Vetromile had been recalled from the Maine missions in the fall of 1858 in time to take over the classes in physics, chemistry, and astronomy at Holy Cross. He was also college librarian. It would seem that the work of a missionary had a greater appeal than the demands of the classroom and the care of books, for he decided to return to Maine. The transfer to the diocese had been arranged some time in advance for Bishop Bacon was in Rome making his first *ad limina* visitation when Vetromile, late in 1859, was accepted by the Vicar-General. In the spring of the next year he was appointed pastor in Biddeford and while pastor there had charge of the Indians at Calais.[1] He spent twenty-two years in the diocese, found time to travel rather extensively, acquired a solid reputation as an author and an authority on the Maine Indians, and added no little prestige to the clergy of the diocese. His books are now among the collection of the college library where he was once librarian, and among the library's manuscripts is an abstinence pledge signed by one of his Penobscot Indians in 1858. The certificate of the pledge is a printed formula in Indian and English with vivid illustrations of the evils from over-indulgence in fire water and bears Father Vetromile's name in print in the lower right corner. Obviously the occasion of the pledge was not lightly taken and the Indian was given a telling reminder of his promise.

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[1] Since Calais was more than 200 miles northeast of Biddeford and there was a resident pastor of the Immaculate Conception church in Calais, this appears to be a singularly strange assignment. A probable explanation may be that the priest in Calais did not know the Abenaki language, and Vetromile requested the work among the Indians. Whatever the explanation, Vetromile was, according to the Catholic directories, pastor in Biddeford and pastor of St. Ann's (Indians) in Calais for the years 1865-1870. When, however, Vetromile was assigned in 1871 to Lubec, a town not far from Calais, he no longer was pastor of the Indians of St. Ann's; Father Durnin, resident priest in Calais, had charge of them. Durnin probably knew the Indian language. But Vetromile was soon working again with the Indians; from 1872 to 1876, as pastor in Eastport, and from 1879 to 1881, as pastor in Machias, he attended to the Indians of Pleasant Point. In 1877 and 1878 Vetromile was granted permission by Bishop Healy to travel. He died August 23, 1881, at the age of sixty-two, in Gallipoli, Italy, his birthplace.

The information on James T. Durnin is tantalizingly meagre, and this is unfortunate for he was, as far as can be discovered, the first Maine born Catholic ordained a priest. If Bishop Bacon was aware of this when he accepted Durnin for the diocese, he failed to make note of it in his memorandum book; he merely noted the new arrival came from the diocese of Dubuque, was accepted April 22, 1860, and was named pastor of Lewiston. This information is given under Thomas Durin, but there is no serious doubt that this priest from Dubuque was James T. Durnin, born in Eastport on November 28, 1828. Apparently people found it difficult to get Durnin's correct name, and he made little effort to correct them.[1]

Durnin was born the year Father Ffrench started the construction of the first Catholic church in Eastport. Very probably he was baptized by Ffrench. In the summer of 1844, when he was approaching his sixteenth birthday, young Durnin must have been envied by his companions and the talk of the Catholic community of Eastport. He was going to college, to Bishop Fenwick's college in Worcester, and very few Catholic youths in Maine had that privilege in the pre-Civil War decades. He registered at the college on September 27 and deposited ninety dollars for his education, – a sum of money that would indicate his father, James Durnin, was not in straitened circumstances. Young James was among the first students at Holy Cross, entering a year after the college opened; he was among the first ten members of the college's Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was not graduated, however, until 1851, when he received the bachelor of arts degree at the third commencement. Undoubtedly his college education was interrupted and probably more than once.

Nine years after graduation Durnin was a curate at the cathedral in Dubuque, Iowa. Since his name appears for the first time in the 1860 edition of the *Catholic Directory*, he probably was ordained the previous year. Why was he in the Dubuque diocese and not the Boston or the Portland diocese? There are no answers to these and other questions in the available sources, and the likely conjecture is he went west after graduation and was accepted by a bishop who knew him. In any case, a year or so after his ordination he sought a transfer to his home state and was accepted by Bishop Bacon.

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[1] He registered at Holy Cross as James Durnin, but in the *Alumni Directory* he is listed as James A. Durnin. His name appears for the first time in the 1860 edition of the *Catholic Directory* and it is given as James A. Durnin, but it is James T. Durnin in the obituary notice in 1874 edition of the *Directory*. The historians of the parishes he served refer to him as Jas. Dernen, James A. Durnen, James T. Durnin. It is the business of college registrars and writers of obituary notices to identify persons correctly and so they have been accepted as the best guide.

He spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in the diocese of Portland, as pastor in Lewiston, Great Falls (New Hampshire), Ellsworth, Eastport, and finally Calais where he remained for three years. One of his first projects in the parish of the Immaculate Conception was a sodality for the Catholics of Calais. He was somewhat of an organizer, for he also founded a temperance and a debating society in this town. The parish historian gives the impression that membership in these two societies was associated, as if Durnin was persuaded that debating promoted temperance. His health had long been poor and he died April 15, 1873, "after a prolonged and painful illness, which he bore with truly Christian patience and resignation." He was buried in the parish cemetery, not many miles from Eastport, his birthplace.

Twelve more priests were added to the roster during the four years of the Civil War, and definite signs of advance can be found in the fact that six of them were young men ordained for the diocese. Two of these newly ordained priests made important contributions to the diocese meriting more recognition than can be given in these pages: Daniel W. Murphy, a young Irishman ordained by Bishop Bacon August 26, 1861 at the age of twenty-three, who became the builder of Catholic schools, and John E. Barry, the first Maine native ordained by Bishop Bacon for the diocese and later the Vicar-General of the diocese.

Daniel W. Murphy completed his classical studies at All Hallows College, Dublin, before coming to the United States and had been accepted by Bishop Bacon before he completed his theological studies at Montreal's Grand Seminary. Following his custom of ordaining only one at each ceremony, the bishop raised Murphy to the priesthood on August 20, 1861. After a period of briefing under the eyes of the bishop Murphy was given his first pastorate in Houlton. He was a young man, only twenty-three, healthy, athletic, zealous. He remained at his first post no more than three years, but that was time enough to build a school there. He then went to Bath in 1864, and although only a year in this town he added a school and a new rectory to the parish buildings. Bishop Bacon now knew he had a man with a talent for raising money and buildings and, after this second move, Murphy must have realized that he was destined to move periodically.

Portsmouth was his next stop. One chronicler has remarked that Portsmouth was too confining for a young and active pastor like Father Murphy and that he was soon given a larger field, — Keene, New Hampshire. Actually, he remained there for four years and by 1868 he had completed his school. His plans for an academy as well as a parish school staffed by the Sisters of Mercy went awry. Three Sisters had established their first house in Manchester in 1858 and their second house in Bangor in 1865; in both cities they had an academy and taught in the parish schools. That was what Father Murphy wanted in Portsmouth. So certain was he that their third branch would be in this community that Bishop Bacon noted in his report for the 1869 *Catholic Directory* that seven Sisters of Mercy conducted an academy and the parish school there. Something, however, intervened, for no convent was founded until 1887. One reason suggests itself. Bishop Bacon transferred Father Murphy to Keene in 1869, and the change of pastors may have changed the mind of Mother Warde. The success of a pioneer house in any parish depended more on the pastor than on the bishop. Murphy did, however, succeed in another plan. He arranged with Bishop Bacon to have the ordination of his younger brother, John W. Murphy, take place in his parish church, the Immaculate Conception, in 1867, — the first ordination to the priesthood in New Hampshire. John Murphy, too, became one of the leaders in the diocese, the first pastor and builder of St. Mary's, the new parish (1872) in Bangor, and the builder, as Vicar-General of the diocese, of the new St. Dominic's in Portland.

The parish in Keene did prove to be a larger field for Daniel Murphy, for he was asked to take care of more than twenty missions besides the parish of St. Bernard's. But this was an area that needed churches rather than schools. He did his best during the seven years (1869-1876) he was there. Besides remodelling St. Bernard's and building a new rectory in Keene, he built St. Peter's in Peterborough and St. Michael's in Ashuelot, purchased an Episcopal church and converted it into a church for the Catholics of Walpole, and started building funds for a church in Charlestown and a new church at Claremont. For the next four years he was at St. Mary's, Augusta, and here, again, churches were his concern. He built the Sacred Heart church in Hallowell, one of his missions, and enlarged St. Mary's in Augusta. At last he was given a permanent assignment: St. Mary's in Dover. Although he had been pastor of five widely separated parishes and a score of missions and had been a priest twenty years, he was only forty-three when he went to Dover. He still had a score of years to make St. Mary's a model parish with a school for girls under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy and another for boys staffed by the Christian Brothers. The Catholics of Maine and New Hampshire are still in debt to this man, and as a fine representative of the Irish clergy, who volunteered to work in Maine, his labors underscore the diocese's debt to Ireland.

June 29, 1864, the day John E. Barry was ordained, was long awaited by Bishop Bacon. Barry was the first born Catholic of Maine ordained by Bacon for the diocese of Portland; to the bishop he was the first vocation. Vocations were slow in developing in the diocese, and Bacon hoped the ordination of young Barry would be an earnest of many more in the immediate future. Again, Eastport, the gateway for the Irish into New

England where Bishop Fenwick was so anxious to have a resident priest, has another claim to a first. John Barry was born there in 1836, attended the church built by Father Ffrench and no doubt heard in his youth stories about this colorful priest. During his early teens he met the Jesuits who had assumed charge of Eastport after a rapid succession of pastors during the 1840's. Barry attended Holy Cross, but for only one year, 1854, according to the college records; he may have been directed to the college by Father Kennedy, S. J., who was at that time stationed at Eastport. When the news of the attack on Bapst reached the college, he was one of the few students who could add some local color about the priest and the town of Ellsworth.

There is a span of ten years between his year at Holy Cross and his ordination. We only know that he made his theological studies at the Grand Seminary in Montreal. After ordination he spent a little more than a year as a curate in Portland and then was given the responsibility of reorganizing the parish in Concord. He was assigned there on September 30, 1865; he remained there until his death in 1900. He was not the first pastor in Concord. Father O'Reilly, one of the nine priests accepted by Bacon in 1855, had been the first resident priest, but he had died suddenly within six months, and the Catholics of Concord were attended by the pastor of Nashua until Barry was appointed. Five hundred Catholics awaited him when he first held services in Phoenix Hall. It seems his first task was to break some of the Catholics of the custom of attending Protestant services after Sunday Mass. One wonders how widespread this practice was in other towns of the diocese; this is the only instance where this custom is admitted, but the chroniclers of the parish histories have very carefully avoided any reference to events and persons that would taint their pages. That this did happen in Concord indicates the pressure on the Catholics to conform to the prevailing religious views of the locality and shows how necessary parish life and a zealous pastor were to preserve the faith.

The Catholics of Concord needed a church. Land was acquired a year after Barry's arrival, and its location was a measure of his character and of the improved status of Irish-Americans due to their contribution to the Civil War. It was a fine piece of property on Main Street. There were no objections; the days when the Catholic church was located on the side street near the shanty section of the town were passing. There Father Barry built the beautiful St. John's church, later enlarged to handle the growing parish. In due time a cemetery was acquired, and the body of Father O'Reilly was transferred from Manchester to the new Concord cemetery. Later a parochial school was built and placed under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. Father Barry became a highly respected citizen of the city and his worth was recognized by his bishop and his fellow-citizens. Bishop Healy, soon after his consecration, appointed Barry a Vicar-General, sharing the work of this office with Monsignor O'Donnell until the latter died early in 1882.

When the diocese of Manchester was established, Barry continued in the same post in the new diocese. When he celebrated the silver jubilee of his ordination the aged Archbishop Williams travelled to Concord to sing a pontifical Mass and Bishop Healy came to preach. He was elected to one of the most coveted posts in a nineteenth century New England community, — the school board, and the governor appointed him a trustee of a state institution. Bishop Bacon waited a long time for the first vocation from Maine, but Father Barry was worth waiting for. He set a high mark for the others who followed him.

Bishop Bacon neglected his memorandum book on the clergy after the Civil War. One can think of many reasons for this; preoccupation with the construction of the cathedral and decline in health first come to mind. Whatever the reason, he has given us little information on the remaining twenty-two priests listed in the small note book. The names are the only information on the next fifteen priests.

This lack of information is regrettable, for it would seem that one of them, John Duddy (called Edward in the bishop's memorandum book), was the first vocation to the diocese from the Cathedral parish. One source tells us that Duddy was Bishop Bacon's altar boy, but does not state where he served the bishop. Another, and more reliable source, tells us that Duddy was born in Portland in 1845, graduated from St. Charles' College, Maryland in 1865, and completed his philosophical and theological studies at St. Joseph's Seminary in Troy, New York which was dedicated December 1, 1864. He was ordained in Portland in 1869[1] (according to our better source), but we do not know if this noteworthy day both for the Catholics of Portland and the Cathedral parish was before or after the dedication of the cathedral on September 8. One would expect a grand celebration of his ordination, but we must bear in mind the many woes which were distracting Bishop Bacon as he arranged for the completion and dedication of the cathedral. He was, however, master of ceremonies when the cathedral was dedicated, and was sub-deacon at Bishop Bacon's funeral Mass. After serving as curate to Father Lucey in Lewiston and to Father McDonald in Manchester, New Hampshire, Father Duddy was pastor at Oldtown, Winterport, and Somersworth, New Hampshire; in the latter town he remodelled Holy Trinity, the brick church constructed under the direction of Father Lucey, and added costly stained-glass windows. He was pastor of Holy Trinity when the diocese of Manchester was established and hence became a priest of this new diocese.

For the last seven entries in the book, the bishop reverted to his practice of giving some data on the priest although this has been curtailed. There was a good reason for finding the time to add a few items about these seven men. All were young seminarians ordained during the years 1870-1873 for the diocese of Portland and they were either from the diocese or accepted as seminarians. The first and second names in this group of seven are D. Bradley and Thomas Wallace. Did the bishop recognize the worth of these two young men when they applied for acceptance as seminarians and later as he inscribed their names in his book? No doubt he did. Denis M. Bradley would be the first bishop of the new diocese of Manchester where, as a child of eight he had arrived with his widowed mother and four brothers and sisters from County Kerry in 1854. After a public education in Manchester he went to Holy Cross, graduating in 1867. While at college we are told by a classmate that he "kept aloof from the wilder element of the college." Who these wilder students were at the college while young Bradley was a student we are not told, but we trust they were not Matthew Harkins, Thomas D. Beaven, Thomas J. Conaty, Michael J. Hoban, and John Stephan Michaud, all of whom later became bishops. And we can be quite certain Wallace, who graduated the year after Bradley, was not among the undisciplined element. The two young men were ordained a year apart, Bradley at St. Joseph's Seminary by Bishop Bernard McQuaid June 3, 1870, and Wallace in the cathedral by Bishop Bacon August 5, 1871. Bradley as bishop in Manchester and Wallace as pastor and monsignor in Lewiston labored long and well for the Catholic faith.

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[1] John Duddy is listed for the first time in the 1870 *Directory* and he is the only priest with this family name during these years in the Portland diocese.

When Bishop Bacon died late in 1874 there were sixty-three churches, twenty-three schools, and fifty-two priests in the diocese, eighteen of them in New Hampshire and the others in Maine. His successor, Bishop Healy, found this number far too small to care for the rapidly increasing Catholics in the diocese. But Healy, who had celebrated the first anniversary of his ordination about the time Bacon was installed as the first bishop of Portland and who knew Maine well since his student days at Holy Cross, appreciated the remarkable advance made within nineteen years: from five diocesan priests to fifty-two. And Bishop Healy could anticipate immediate help, if the *Catholic Directory* was correct. There were twenty ecclesiastical students studying for the diocesan priesthood.

3. DOMUS DOMINI FIRMITER AEDIFICATA

No history of the diocese of Portland can with any justification omit the story of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. The importance of the story does not, of course, derive simply from the building itself; one would expect that a new diocese would, sooner or later, have a new cathedral. It was, however, an impressive cathedral; the third bishop of Portland, William O'Connell, his taste for architecture refined by his years in Rome and his travels in Europe, recognized it as a "very imposing Gothic" edifice. But that is only part of the story. The story is important because it tells us so much about David William Bacon who was determined to build a magnificent church in Portland and succeeded despite an incredible series of frustrating obstacles that ranged from lack of funds to delays from a war and the destruction of fire and storms. A veritable conspiracy of the forces of man and nature attempted, it would seem, to prevent him from building a monument to the Mother of God and he refused to be defeated. It was completed fourteen years after his installation and five years before his death. The cathedral, better than any book, reveals the character of the man.

The cathedral entered into the bishop's plans from the start, although other problems, such as the need for priests and schools, had priority. The land, the Senter estate and a strip of adjoining property on Cumberland Street, was acquired in the spring of 1856. This was not the best site for the cathedral, but in the 1850's good sites for Catholic churches were not on the market. Later, in 1863, another adjoining piece of land, the Covell estate, fronting on Congress, Portland's main avenue, and extending the property from Cumberland to Congress, was purchased. This latter acquisition gave him a fine location for a cathedral facing the city's main street with his residence in the rear and fronting on Cumberland, but he did not alter his original plans. It could well be that he acquired this property on the condition that his plans would not be altered.

Bacon began to build immediately on the Senter property. There was need for another church in Portland, and he solved this problem by first concentrating on the cathedral's chapel which would be, until the entire building was completed, the cathedral church. The chapel, with a seating capacity of six hundred, was finished by December. He planned a gala event for December 14, the day of dedication, but a severe storm, the first of many apparent tokens of ill fortune, prevented many from attending. Portland now had two parishes, and Bishop Bacon now made the chapel his cathedral.

There was a pause now to recuperate from heavy expenses before breaking ground for the main edifice. The parting gift of thirty thousand dollars from his Brooklyn friends must have been nearly depleted by the time the chapel was fittingly furnished and decorated, for Bacon was extravagant in church appointments. The parishioners of St. Dominic's could not be expected to contribute to any cathedral fund until they discharged the debt incurred by augmenting and remodeling their own parish church which was rededicated in the summer of 1859. And a few months after this ceremony Bishop Bacon had to make his first *ad limina* visit to Rome, and to accept, in the name of the American hierarchy, the gift of the American College from Pius IX on December 8. He had asked the parishes of his diocese to contribute to the expenses of this trip, a collection that was new to the Catholics of Maine and New Hampshire. Nothing could be done, then, until he returned from Rome and that was not until May 30, 1860, after an absence of seven months. He had embarked from Boston on November 1 with his namesake, Father Patrick Bacon and his sister, as companions on the Romeward trip. The priest and his sister were going to Ireland for a vacation, but he never returned, as we know, to his parish in Biddeford. He died while in his homeland.

The plans were ready on the bishop's return from Rome and the ground was broken before the year had ended. He had obtained the services of the best Catholic architect in the country, Patrick C. Keeley. He may have been an acquaintance of the bishop since he, too, was from Brooklyn, and well known in church circles. If he had not examined a Keeley church closely before he came to Portland, the bishop had the opportunity to do so when he went to Bangor a week after his installation to bless St. John's. He evidently liked the work of the architect; he liked the church and the parish, too, for he soon decided that it must return to diocesan control, a decision that resulted in the withdrawal of the Jesuits. It could well be, too, that this visit determined the size of the cathedral, for his heart was set on building a church that was unexcelled in New England, and as of 1855 few if any surpassed St. John's in Bangor.

Before much progress could be made the Civil War interrupted work on the cathedral. Lesser but important projects, however, were constructed during the war years. St. Aloysius school was built on the corner of Congress and Sheridan Streets and was opened for class in September 1864. This school brought to Portland the first group of Catholic nuns, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Father Müller at St. Dominic's followed the bishop's example, and before the next year was over the second Catholic parish school in Portland was in operation. The launching of a Catholic school system naturally gladdened the heart of the bishop and his heart was in need of balm these days, for he was a lonely man. His mother died on March 7, 1863 at the age of seventy. The ties between the mother and this only surviving child were strong, and she had been living with him since he came to Portland. Her death meant that the bishop was the last of the Bacons in this country. She was buried from the cathedral chapel, and the bishop must have been surprised to see Father Bapst, now President of the new college the Jesuits had established in Boston, at the funeral. The two had not parted good friends when the Jesuit mission in Maine had been terminated in 1859. The death was a shock to the bishop. One who had seen him within the span of a few months, before and after her death, was surprised at the sudden change in the man; he looked ten years older. He did not, however, have much time to brood over the loss.

Work on the cathedral got under way in real earnest in the spring of 1866 and May 31, the eleventh anniversary of his installation, was selected for the cornerstone ceremony. Progress could be noted daily and the walls were a fair way upwards when work was suspended as the city prepared to celebrate the Fourth, a memorable day in Portland. A good part of the city was destroyed by fire that day, by a firecracker carelessly thrown into a boat builder's shop on Commercial Street, the busy road along the waterfront with wharves, docks, and storehouses on the ocean side, and wholesale trade houses and shops on the opposite. It was a fire that ranked with the Chicago fire of 1871 and the Boston fire of the next year: 200 acres ruined, 1500 buildings destroyed, 10,000 made homeless. Help from departments as far away as Augusta and Boston was of no avail. The cathedral property was destroyed; gone were chapel, the Sisters' convent, the bishop's residence, St. Aloysius school, and two other buildings. The walls of the cathedral were no more. Only the land remained.

The bishop was now faced with the same situation that was his on the day of his installation, minus considerable money, and many of his parishioners were homeless. He took up lodgings in St. Dominic's parochial school which had been spared, and from there directed the rebuilding. First a temporary chapel was thrown up in haste and work was started on the cathedral chapel and the school. He did not change the location of the cathedral, although the fire gave him the opportunity to use the Covell estate and to build a cathedral fronting on Congress Street. Both buildings were nearing completion late in September when he prepared for a trip to Baltimore to attend the Second Plenary Council. He returned from Baltimore greatly encouraged. This council was a milestone in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, for it was a magnificent expression of the unity and growth of the Church in a bitterly divided nation. Although national, it was the largest Council of the Church since Trent, with seven archbishops and thirty-eight bishops present, all the members of the American hierarchy save one who was prevented by illness from attending. The nationality of these bishops and archbishops reflected the catholicity of the Church and the national origins of American Catholics: Ireland, France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, German, Austria were represented. But more and more Rome was selecting Americans for the office of bishop. Eighteen of the hierarchy were American-born, and three of these (Wood of Philadelphia, Bayley of Newark, and Rosecrans of Cincinnati) were converts to the Catholic faith, an unmistakable evidence of the appeal of the ancient faith to the American Protestant mind. Another sign of the better understanding between the Catholic Church and the American Republic was the presence of President Andrew Johnson and his daughter at the closing ceremony, the High Mass celebrated in the Baltimore cathedral. It was a recognition, not without its risk politically, of the contribution of Catholics and the Church to the defense and unity of the republic.

Bishop Bacon was not one of the dominant figures of the Council nor did he, along with his two theological advisers, Father Eugene Müller, his Vicar-General, and Father William Keegan, his Brooklyn friend, play any known important part in its deliberations. But the success of the Council derived as much from the group as from the leaders, and it was no small honor to be one of the group. One would like to know if he had any conversation with the person who was at the side of Archbishop Martin John Spalding, the Council's Apostolic Delegate, during the whole week. The man was Spalding's Vicar-General, the Very Reverend H. B. Coskery, who, had he not refused the papal appointment, now would be worrying about the loss of the cathedral buildings and the problems of the Portland diocese. Ill health had been given as the reason for declining, but Coskery had survived the intervening twelve years remarkably well. Now the burdens were Bacon's and the

Council, "magnificent and imposing" as the Baltimore *Gazette* described it, was a source of inspiration to carry on despite all obstacles. When he returned to Portland he saw that the chapel, a little larger than the original, would be ready for Christmas. It was dedicated two days before the feast, on another stormy day, as could now be expected, that restricted both the attendance and the collection. The bishop carefully noted that the admission tickets and collection amounted to four hundred and ninety dollars. The school was rebuilt, too, before the year was over and in January 1867, the Sisters of Notre Dame returned from Canada to reopen St. Aloysius. Within six months of the fire, the chapel and school had been restored.

Once more the bishop concentrated on the cathedral. Money for the construction was the first problem. One of his successors, William Cardinal O'Connell, tells us that Bishop Bacon "succeeded in gathering, mainly among his rich friends in New York, sufficient money to erect a very imposing Gothic cathedral." Actually it was not quite so easy as that. He was not ready to start work on the cathedral until the spring of 1868. In the meantime he had gone on a begging tour for two months early in the preceding year, visiting both Canadian and American dioceses. The response among the hierarchy was gratifying and he publicly expressed his gratitude to the prelates of the New York Province, the Archbishop of Quebec, and other Canadian bishops for their financial help. Rich friends in New York no doubt did contribute and probably quite generously, as did Protestants in Portland. Possibly he was alloted some of the $600,000 contributed by Americans throughout the country to the victims of the Portland fire. But he still had to borrow money to complete the cathedral. And in the summer of 1869 he was requesting special gifts from the few wealthy Catholics in the diocese to pay off this borrowed money.

Wealthy Catholics in the Portland diocese were few and so they were expected to give much. One was Charles McCarthy, Jr., —a distinction he retained to his death in 1921 at the age of 93. He was one of the few Irish Catholic immigrants of the pre-Civil War years who quickly prospered and became influential on the local level. He had first settled in Bangor and then moved to Portland in the early 1850's where he established himself as a clothier on Fore Street, then the retail center of the city. By 1868 he had become a member of the Common Council and after two years on this body served three more as alderman; later, in 1887 he was the Democratic candidate for mayor and made a remarkable bid for this post. By the end of the Civil War he was well off and he increased his fortune by discreet investments in real estate and railroads; the small memorandum books he used as diaries show how he quickly acquired a sharp eye for bargains that must have been envied by the best Yankee business minds. The Bishops of Portland, from Bacon to Walsh, depended on him for generous benefactions and advice, and it would seem that they were seldom disappointed. Bishop Bacon turned to him in the summer of 1869. In a letter dated August 2, he told McCarthy that the Holy Father's decision to call a General Council had forced him to alter his plans; he wanted the cathedral finished before his departure and this had compelled him to borrow money on a short loan to rush the construction; now he wanted to refund this debt before his departure. The bishop appealed to McCarthy's pride in a church "which so far has not been excelled in the New England states" and which was "the church of your diocese" to help to remove the cathedral debt by a generous donation, even though he had already made former contributions. In a postcript he asked for "a favorable answer and at an early day." Actually both the cathedral and the bishop's residence, large enough to house the diocesan clergy on their annual retreat, were finished when this appeal was mailed, and the day of dedication had been set. September 8, 1869, was the day Bishop Bacon had long awaited.

One feature of the dedication ceremony must not pass unnoticed. How different it was from the installation of Bishop

Bacon fourteen years ago. Those years had seen a remarkable change, due, no doubt, to the presence of the bishop in the city and his visits throughout the state. He was now accepted. In 1869 there were as many bishops attending the dedication of the cathedral as there had been priests at the installation. Two of them were from New England, John Williams of Boston who had been consecrated on March 11, 1866, with Bishop Bacon as one of three consecrators, and Louis de Goesbriand of Burlington; the other New England prelate, Bishop Francis P. McFarland of Hartford, was absent. The other three were from New York, a good indication of the bishop's strong ties there, — Bishop John Loughlin of Brooklyn, Bishop J. J. Conroy of Albany, and Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester, the first bishop of a diocese established by the Second Plenary Council. Archbishop McCloskey of New York was not there, but he was represented by his Vicar-General.

Catholic liturgy has made the dedication of a church an impressive ceremony. A temple is dedicated to God and becomes a house of prayer and of sacrifice where the worshippers themselves become, if they are so minded, living temples of God. When the church is the cathedral the ceremony is more solemn and thereafter the day of dedication becomes an important feast day in the diocese. Henceforth, then, September 8, the Nativity of Our Lady, became a double feast in the diocese of Portland. The Portland Cathedral was a monument to much labor and many sacrifices. And the liturgy strives to convert the labor and sacrifices into rejoicing. Bishop Bacon did his best to make the day one of rejoicing. Not a little of the joy and pride of this day came from the admission of spectators and visitors that the church, for style, size, exquisite decorations and appointments (the pews were carved chestnut), high altar and Lady's chapel, was one of the finest in the country.

The dedication preceded the Mass. The procession of acolytes, clergy, and bishops first gathered outside the cathedral and while the *Miserere* was chanted, Bishop Bacon blessed the outside walls and foundations. They then entered the cathedral and proceeded to the high altar, and while the clergy and choir chanted the Litanies the bishop blessed the church and the altar. Clergy and choir now sang three beautiful psalms and while the church was filled with the chant of "I have lifted up my eyes to the mountains whence help shall come to me," and "In my trouble I cried to the Lord and he heard me," the bishop moved around the church blessing the walls. The bishop finally stood before the high altar and prayed that God would bestow his grace on this house of prayer, and that all who invoked His Name within these walls would receive God's merciful assistance. Henceforth, many troubled souls would look to the tabernacle for daily help and courage. The altar, bare during the ceremony, was now prepared for Mass which was celebrated by Bishop Williams.

The preacher was Father Isaac Hecker, noted convert and Paulist. He was a good selection, for as a friend of Emerson and the Transcendentalists he understood the New England mind. Indeed, he seemed to address his words, developed from the text: "this is no other but the House of God and the Gate of Heaven" more to the inquiring Protestant than to his audience. Why this grand temple, he asked; why this magnificent church built by those who know the pinch of poverty? He reminded his audience that "our Alcotts and Emersons" would not give them the answer and proceeded to explain the place of a church in the lives of a Christian; what the interior of the church represented and why the Christian beautifies his house of prayer. Near the end of the sermon, he directed his words to those who had built the church and would worship there:

> To you, Catholics of Portland, it is only the beginning of your work. Your life must be in accordance with divine grace; your hearts must become God's altars; you must become living temples consecrated to God's glory, as this temple has been consecrated today. You will find your final destiny taught you here.

That evening the incredible happened. A heavy fog had made the morning unpleasant but had not prevented the cathedral from being overcrowded and had not interfered with the ceremonies. After the event, and especially at the dinner for the guests at the Falmouth Hotel, Bishop Bacon accepted the good wishes of all. General George B. McClellan arrived at the hotel in time to be invited to the dinner and graciously accepted. Bishop Bacon returned to his residence a happy man. The fog, however, had given way to a high wind and soon the city, and in fact the entire state, was racked by a severe storm. That night, about eight-thirty, when the storm was at its height, the cathedral steeple came crashing down across Cumberland Avenue on to the roof of a neighboring house. No lives, fortunately, were lost, but that blow must have taken a number of years from the life of the bishop. Late in October, the steeple had been replaced at no little cost. By then he was in need of a rest. He took it on board ship on his way to Rome to attend the Vatican Council.

4. THE SISTERS COME TO MAINE

In the summer of 1886 Portland celebrated the centenary of its birth, when Falmouth Neck was separated without too much opposition from the residents of Falmouth proper and incorporated into the town of Portland. It was a gala three-day affair, starting the day before the Fourth. It also marked the twentieth anniversary of the big fire that had forced the residents to rebuild much of the city along more modern lines. Natives of the city scattered all over the nation were invited to return, and many of them did. They listened to Thomas B. Reed, one of America's great parliamentarians, on the concluding day of the celebration recall and praise those who had helped to make the "old town famous to the outer world." Among those singled out for honorable mention, on the score of his "great administrative powers" was David William Bacon, Portland's first Catholic Bishop.

Reed had, it would seem, selected Bacon's most conspicuous talent. Although a reputation as a preacher had preceded his coming to Portland, we do not find him invited to be the orator or preacher on important occasions as his successor, Bishop Healy, was. Quite possibly, he was too occupied with his own building program to accept invitations. At least, not many events where Bacon was the preacher have been discovered. He did preach at the dedication of the Immaculate Conception Church in Salem, Massachusetts, on Sunday, January 10, 1858, and the local newspapers printed lengthy excerpts from his sermon at what was described as the "greatest Catholic ceremony" yet seen in Essex County. It may have been on this occasion that he first met his successor, for Father James A. Healy was the master of ceremonies. Nor do we find evidence that his was an influential voice in the important church councils, like the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore and the Vatican Council. And it is true he had little to administer when he first came to Portland. But a good administrator is first a good provider. The growth of the clergy of the diocese and the building of churches in both Maine and New Hampshire and the construction of the cathedral under adverse conditions underscore his ability to provide and to administer. So, too, does the establishment of a Catholic school system in the diocese of Portland.

When Bishop Bacon arrived in Portland there were no Catholic schools in the diocese. Kavanagh and Deane had made a few references to schools in their report on Madawaska, but whatever educational progress had been made since then in this district could not be credited to the Portland diocese; Madawaska, both American and Canadian, was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St. John, New Brunswick. Whatever Indian schools there were in Maine were strictly public. Indeed, in 1855, the mention of Catholic schools was carefully avoided, for the attack on Father Bapst had stemmed from a school problem, and his decision to found a Catholic school had aggravated the problem. Yet when Bishop Bacon died in 1874, there were twenty free parochial schools and six academies for girls in the diocese. One does not need the support of comparisons to see that this was a notable achievement, but the educational progress in the diocese of Portland is underscored by a glance at the status of Catholic schools in other New England dioceses in 1874.

There were more Catholic schools in the diocese of Portland than in that of Boston, at this time comprising all of Massachusetts, where there were only fourteen parochial schools and three girls' academies for the 300,000 Catholics. In Vermont, there were no parochial schools and only three academies for girls for the 34,000 Catholics. In Rhode Island, which had been separated from the diocese of Hartford in 1872, there were only ten parochial schools along with six academies for girls and one for boys, for a Catholic population of 144,000. Only in Connecticut was there a more impressive Catholic school system; besides eleven academies for girls and one for boys for families that could pay for the education of their children, there were twenty free parochial schools for girls and eighteen for boys for the 145,000 Catholics of this diocese.

The work of the Sisters of Mercy explains the advanced status of Catholic schools in Connecticut, and since Rhode Island had been until 1872 part of the diocese of Hartford, the Catholics in this state, too, had shared in the benefits of these teachers. Indeed, Providence had been the residence of the bishops of Hartford diocese, and the first house of the Sisters in New England had been founded in Providence in 1851. It was a rare blessing for the Catholics of New England that the remarkable founder of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Mother M. Xavier Warde, spent so many years of her life in two New England dioceses. Eight years after she established their first house in Pittsburgh, she introduced the Sisters into the Hartford diocese, and then, seven years later, founded the first religious community of women in the diocese of Portland.

Manchester was the fortunate city, and the selection of this city over Portland, where one would expect the first house, must be traced to the initiative of Father William McDonald, the pastor of St. Anne's. Others had to cooperate, of course;

Bishop McFarland of Hartford had to consent, which he did with some reluctance; Bishop Bacon had to intercede and this he did by letter and by personal interviews; Mother Warde had to agree. But Father McDonald really brought the Sisters of Mercy to Manchester. Because he wanted some teaching Sisters in his parish, he constructed a fine convent and during its construction guarded it by night lest it be destroyed by vandalism. He could offer the Sisters a home, and this was obviously a great advantage over the other bishops and priests who were begging Mother Warde for the services of the Sisters. He also pushed his claim by visits and letters to Providence and his wish was granted. Perhaps it was the claim of the Manchester Catholics on charity that persuaded Mother Warde, — their poverty, their lowly social status, the remote prospects of any financial rewards, and the sanctity of their pastor. The Sisters of Mercy did have an extraordinary devotion to this austere, industrious, frugal, kind-hearted priest who by his forty-one years of pastoral care won the admiration and love of Manchester, and this devotion is made manifest in their *Annals*. He is given a chapter to himself, and of him, not of Bishop Bacon or any other bishop, do they write that "no ecclesiastic ever did more for the Sisters of Mercy than this holy man." Obviously he deserved this praise. Bishop Bradley considered him "the pioneer of Catholic education in New England;" both press and pulpit expressed deep regret at his death, and one Protestant minister offered him as a model of Christian living to his congregation and to the citizens of Manchester. The New England mind could recognize and respect a life dedicated to Christ, and the remarkable change of attitude in Manchester toward Catholics and their religion derived in good part from the life of this one man. He himself gave much credit to the Sisters of Mercy. Their work in New Hampshire and Maine would require a volume, and no doubt justice to them will be done during the approaching centenary of their arrival in the diocese. Only a few milestones can be mentioned here.

Mother Warde and her four companions arrived in Manchester late in the afternoon of July 16, 1858. They had left Providence at nine that morning. Bishop McFarland and others posted them on the hostile attitudes of some in northern New England. She was ready for the worst, but actually she had seen the worst in Providence where a mob had surrounded the convent shortly after their arrival in 1851 and had threatened the Sisters with death if they did not depart immediately. The Sisters remained; Mother Warde was not easily frightened. They went to Manchester by way of Worcester where some friendly ladies invited them to have dinner before they took the train for Nashua; at this station, Father McDonald and Father O'Donnell of Nashua joined them for the journey to Manchester. They were met by a happy, friendly crowd. They were, of course, the objects of much curiosity which was not restricted to non-Catholics. Most of the Catholics were seeing Catholic Sisters for the first time. Two weeks later they were joined by two more Sisters, and it was about this time, too, that two residents of the city, one a Baptist and the other an Universalist, called at the convent to inquire about the Catholic religion. These two ladies became converts to the Catholic faith, the first of many who were attracted to the Church by the strong living faith of these religious.

The foundation in Manchester was the only one established in New Hampshire while Bacon remained Bishop of Portland, but the growth and success of this pioneer house was phenomenal. In 1874, when the Bishop died, there were twenty-one professed choir Sisters, fourteen choir novices, and eight lay Sisters at the Mother house in Manchester, and three branches had been established in Maine: at Bangor, Whitefield, and Portland. In Manchester they conducted two parochial schools, one at St. Ann's and the other at St. Joseph's, a day Academy and Mount St. Mary's Boarding School, a school that later developed into a college and was transferred to Hooksett. They had also a night school for girls who worked in the mills during the day. More remarkable still was the fact that they taught in public schools and were accorded the pay of public school teachers.

The Sisters opened their first parish school in August, 1858, a few weeks after their arrival. Classes were held in the basement of St. Ann's. It must have been a crowded basement, for we are told that "not one Catholic girl remained in the public schools." The basement was clearly overcrowded the next fall, for a school for boys was opened and they, too, had their classes in the basement of the church. A fine Irish school teacher, Thomas Corcoran, was placed in charge of the older boys. There was more room in 1860. The boys, all three hundred and sixty of them, moved to an empty public school, the Park Street School, and there the younger ones were taught by the Sisters and the older ones by Corcoran. This school became a public school, and the Sisters were placed on the public pay roll. By 1865 they were conducting seven public schools in the city and four years later the number had increased to fourteen. This strange situation was due to the public school system in vogue at the time and, no doubt, to the influence of Father McDonald. Schools were small and numerous and each one attended, it would seem, by the same national or religious groups. It was a type of segregation on lines of national origins or religious affiliations, and it could be practiced as long as these groups lived in the same area and the school building was small. Once one or two large schools were built for the city, the system had to be abandoned. At least, in the 1868 *Catholic Directory,* Bishop Bacon explained that the schools taught by the Sisters "are in the Catholic districts, and are attended by Catholic children." They were, however, public schools, and the Sisters were public school teachers and paid accordingly.

Two more schools were opened before the year was over. In September 1858 a select academy for girls, St. Mary's Academy, was started. From the start it attracted the daughters of the well-to-do Protestants of the city, and Bishop Bacon in his report for the 1860 *Catholic Directory* could write: "*well* patronized by the Protestants of Manchester." The friendships that inevitably followed between the daughters of the Irish and the Protestant mothers, the good training in morals and manners did as much, if not more, to break down the prejudices against the Catholic religion and the Irish in Manchester than did the exemplary life of the austere pastor.

Their next educational venture was a night school for the Catholic girls who worked in the mills. This was opened in November 1858, and one can gather how many young girls were compelled to help support their families and how much this opportunity for some education was appreciated, by the fact that within a year there were two hundred and fifty girls attending the classes.

By 1865 the Sisters had opened an orphanage, one of their principal interests wherever they were located. Four years later they were asked to staff another elementary school to take care of the children of the new parish, St. Joseph's, started by Father McDonald to handle the increasing Catholics. The Sisters were allowed to use some unused rooms in a public school until a private dwelling was acquired for the classes. When in 1874 they opened a home for aged women the Sisters had, within six years, established and were operating a cluster of educational and charitable institutions devoted to the spiritual and physical care of young and old in Manchester. Quietly but effectively the pastor and the Sisters had worked a profound revolution in the old New England mill town, and the tributes paid publicly by the city officials and privately by the prominent Yankees on the deaths of Mother Warde (September 17, 1884) and Father McDonald (August 26, 1885) are a clear recognition of that revolution.[1]

Before the Sisters of Mercy had established their second house in the diocese of Portland, in Bangor in 1865, Bishop Bacon had invited another group of Sisters to conduct the parochial schools of Portland: the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame. They opened an academy near the cathedral property in the fall of 1864, staffed the cathedral parish school, called St. Aloysius, and the next year took over the parish school of St. Dominic's. One naturally wonders why he invited a French-speaking group to conduct schools in parishes composed mainly of Irish Catholics, and why the Sisters of Mercy were not selected. The Sisters of Mercy were in a position to staff the schools; they had, in fact, with the consent of Bishop Bacon, established a house in Philadelphia in 1861 and another house in Omaha, Nebraska, two years later. Bacon may have been experimenting. The relations between the Irish and Canadian immigrants, despite the bonds of religion, were not friendly during the nineteenth century, and this may have been an attempt to bridge the differences among the first generation of these immigrants. If so, the experiment was over by 1873, when the Notre Dame Sisters were recalled to Canada and were replaced by the Sisters of Mercy.

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[1] The influence of the Sisters may also be seen in the increase of Catholic boys attending college and of vocations among them. The number of Maine and New Hampshire students at Holy Cross in 1876, the year Louis S. Walsh, fourth bishop of Portland enrolled, will illustrate the first point; there was only one Maine student (John J. Lynch of Portland), while there were eleven students from New Hampshire. Eight of the eleven were from Manchester; the other three were from Hinsdale, Great Falls, and Salmon Falls. From the latter town came David William Bingham, obviously named after Portland's first bishop. Natives of Manchester became prominent, too, such as Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, the well-known historian and Rector of Catholic University, who was born the year before the Sisters arrived in Manchester, and Dr. William H. Lyons, a graduate of Holy Cross and Harvard Medical School, who was born in 1866 and became one of New England's authorities on French literature.

Their academy, Notre Dame Academy, was a section of their convent on Cumberland Avenue and was fairly well attended. After two years they had sixty girls, and although classes were suspended by the fire in 1866, they had an enrollment of eighty late in 1867. These students paid for their education and hence were from families with some financial independence. The two parish schools were, of course, free. The cathedral school, located on Congress Street (now the corner of Congress and Sheridan) was a poor wooden building with four classrooms and a hall that was used as a chapel on Sundays to care for the overcrowded cathedral chapel. Opened in October 1864 this school, called St. Aloysius, was the first parochial school in Maine. There were two hundred and seventy pupils there in 1860 and by 1867 the number had increased to four hundred. The first classes at St. Dominic's were held in the church until a school was built the next year.

The Notre Dame Sisters did not have time to develop a teaching tradition in Portland. Hardly had they overcome the obstacles of establishing a house and opening their schools in a strange city when the fire of 1866 destroyed their convent and schools on the cathedral property and they were forced to retire to Canada until the buildings were reconstructed. While they were away the bishop hired lay teachers to continue St. Dominic's school and, according to the 1868 *Catholic Directory*, this school was still in charge of "secular teachers" although the Sisters had returned to Portland in January of 1867. They now had to rebuild the foundation of a school system and it does seem as if they were quite successful. In 1868 they had eighty pupils at the Notre Dame Academy, an increase of twenty over the pre-fire number; at St. Aloysius they were teaching four hundred pupils, an increase of one hundred and thirty. Only at St. Dominic's was there a decrease of students; before the fire there were three hundred and eighty students, whereas in 1868, while the school was still in the hands of lay teachers, the number had declined to three hundred. Late in this year, or early in the next, the Notre Dame Sisters returned to St. Dominic's.

Rather suddenly, and to the chagrin of Bishop Bacon, the Notre Dame Sisters were recalled to Canada in the summer of 1873 and the bishop had to replace them within five or six weeks. As with decisions of this nature, the reasons behind the move are not fully known. In the bishop's letter of July 23, 1873 to Mother Warde asking her to send some Sisters of Mercy to conduct the Portland schools, we are given some indications. They fear, he wrote, that "their sun is setting." What they suspected was that the bishop intended eventually to replace them with the Sisters of Mercy. In 1869, shortly before he started for Rome to attend the Vatican Council, he had purchased from the city a piece of property adjoining the cathedral land. He planned to build a convent there, although his plans were changed by his successor and it became the site of the Kavanagh School. The Notre Dame Sisters must have wondered who would occupy the new convent. Another reason for speculation came when Bishop Bacon invited the Sisters of Mercy to open an orphanage in Portland; the invitation was accepted and on May 31, 1873, three Sisters arrived from Manchester to start the work. This was the first house of the Sisters of Mercy in Portland. We are told, however, that at this time "the bishop apparently did not intend making any change in the usual routine of his schools." This may not have been apparent to the Notre Dame Sisters.

The decision to recall the Notre Dame Sisters did not come as a complete surprise to Bacon. He had some inkling of it and, in a letter prior to that of July 23, had told Mother Warde he might be forced to call on her for help. He wanted English-speaking teachers in the Portland school and had asked the Superior of the Notre Dame Sisters to assign them to Portland. The desire for English-speaking teachers was supported by the parents of the students, and some had started to send their girls to St. Mary's Academy in Manchester. But this request could not easily be granted by a Canadian congregation, and both bishop and parents must have been aware of this.

The bishop was informed late in July that the Notre Dame Sisters would not be teaching in Portland in September. Bacon considered the decision the "uncourteous action of a woman too young to be superior of a large community." It could well be that the decision, made in Canada, was somewhat influenced by a decision of the bishop made a few years previously. When he was at Rome the Madawaskan problem had been solved and this section of Maine had finally been placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Portland. Bacon discovered that the Holy Cross Fathers had been given the parish of St. Bruno with the expectation that they would establish a college in that area. As soon as this parish came under Bacon's jurisdiction he informed the Holy Cross Fathers they would be replaced by diocesan priests as soon as possible. It must have been a decision that found little favor among Canadians and religious congregations and orders. It is regrettable the Notre Dame

Sisters did not remain in the diocese working among the children of Irish immigrants, for they would have prevented the isolation that developed between the two Catholic national groups in Maine.

Mother Warde agreed to staff the Portland schools and sent twenty Sisters for the fall term. That she was able to do this on a short notice is clear testimony of the wonderful growth of the congregation in this country, and her decision saved the bishop from sending the children back to the public schools. He had told Mother Warde in his letter that if she were unable to help him he would be forced to "seek sisters elsewhere," but the prospects of obtaining them were slight. One gathers from the letter that they worked under the same agreement the bishop had made with the Notre Dame Sisters: each Sister in the parish schools received two hundred dollars annually, while the income from the academy, both from tuition and music lessons, went directly to the Sisters. The bishop figured they realized more than three thousand dollars from this source. They, in turn, had to furnish the convent and pay rent on it. He was "certain that they saved money every year." If so, they were frugal indeed.

The Portland house was the fourth founded by the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese and the third in Maine. Their pioneer house in Maine was in Bangor and their second was in North Whitefield, one of the oldest Catholic centers in the state. Bacon was slow to introduce the Sisters into Maine. And while he waited, other bishops begged Mother Warde to send them some Sisters. It was, it seems, pressure from the pastors in Bangor and Whitefield that moved him to invite Mother Warde to establish two houses in Maine and by then it was too late. In 1864, the year after the second group of Sisters had left to establish a branch outside the diocese, Father Gillen started to build a convent in Bangor; in Whitefield, Father Putnam's successor went ahead with plans for an academy. Evidently the two persuaded Bacon to invite the Sisters to their parishes, for in the 1865 *Catholic Directory* he announced that:

> A convent is being built in Bangor for religious ladies, who will have an academy, and who will take charge of the parochial schools in Bangor and in Whitefield.

This was followed up with a letter dated March 22, 1865 to Mother Warde. He now regretted that he consented to the two new foundations outside the diocese, but "I could not see it at that time," he explained, "that I would soon be prepared" to employ them. Now, he told her, two priests were pressing him "to let them know what can be done for them . . . Do you think you could divide your little community so as to take the Bangor Mission in May?" The parish schools, he added, number about four hundred children and the prospects for a paying academy "were excellent." He wanted some Sisters for Whitefield, but not for a parish school as he had announced: "there I intend an asylum for orphan girls."

There were no Sisters available for North Whitefield and not until August did they go to Bangor. On August 4, Mother Warde accompanied the six Sisters assigned to open the first house for religious women in Maine. The route they took has not been described, but much has been made of the fact that the Sisters travelled disguised in lay dress to avoid any trouble. This is not quite correct. They travelled in their out-door dress which their Foundress had designed for travel in certain countries where the religious habit on the streets was not customary. It was the fashionable walking dress of elderly women of her day and was worn over the religious habit. It was their custom to wear it while travelling in New England, and this was the garb which attracted attention when the pioneer group made the trip from Providence to Manchester. It was no longer the fashionable attire of elderly women and actually attracted as much attention as the religious habit. There was no incident on the way to Bangor except that some travellers thought the Sisters were part of a funeral procession. In Bangor, where a warm welcome awaited them, they discovered they had arrived too early. The convent was not ready for them. They took temporary quarters in a poorly equipped house which they soon abandoned for the unfinished convent. Under the direction of Mother Gonzaga O'Brien, their Superior and one of the Manchester pioneers, they were soon busy with the problems of opening schools.

In Bangor, as in Manchester, they conducted the parish schools, a day and boarding academy and a night school for the working girls. They discovered the parish school building was unfit for classes and moved to the basement of St. John's and there they remained for some years "in dark, dingy rooms under the church" until Father Edward McSweeney, one of Gillen's successors, acquired a fine piece of property with an adequate home on it for the parish school. Here we have a major reason for the tardy use of the Sisters in the parish schools. St. John's in Bangor, one of the best parishes in the state, was unable for years to provide a decent school building for the parish children. In view of the fact that in the late 1850's the Catholics were able, under the direction of Father Bapst, to build a magnificent church, this failure to provide a school building is difficult to explain. In the fall of 1865 the Sisters opened their paying academy in a section of their convent, and this from the start prospered. Bangor became a rich source of vocations to the religious life, — a fine tribute to the Sisters and the Catholics of the city. When the Sisters celebrated their golden jubilee in this city they could county twenty-five vocations among the girls they had taught.

Not until 1871 did the Sisters of Mercy open a convent and school in Whitefield, and here again we see the influence of a zealous pastor in bringing the Sisters to a parish and the difficulties that a Maine parish faced in realizing the project. Soon after the Sisters came to Manchester, Father Putnam wanted to bring them to St. Dennis' and he had the encouragement and aid of a generous benefactor, Winifred Kavanagh, in his plans. She donated land with a house and orchard and she gave financial aid for the convent. Father Putnam however died September 8, 1863, some years before his dream was realized. His successor, Father Peterson, continued the work, and eventually the convent, a large brick house with a chapel, a large hall, school rooms and dormitories, was finished. Whitefield had the best convent school building in the state. The Catholics of the parish were pleased to learn that one of the Sisters sent to open the academy was a descendant of the Kavanaghs: Josephine McConville, now Sister Mary Gertrude, a cousin of Winifred Kavanagh. This was a wise decision, and under the patronage of Winifred Kavanagh, who sent her two nieces there and persuaded her non-Catholic friends to send their daughters, the academy became a flourishing school, although its isolated location was not in its favor.

The work of the Sisters, however, found favor among the members of the local school board and the district school was entrusted to their care. This was and for years had been a strongly Catholic district and hence the attitude of many would be friendly to the Sisters, but the knowledge that Maine and New Hampshire school committees were willing to employ Catholic Sisters in the public schools in the 1860's and 1870's tells us how differently that generation understood the constitutional provision of the separation of church and state. Despite its happy start the academy was closed in 1875 and it became an orphanage. The Sisters were needed in Portland. And they were moving to other dioceses as well. The Mother house in Manchester had sent one group to found a house in California during the year the Whitefield Academy was opened, and during the following year another house in New Jersey was established. This steady spread of the Sisters over the United States, and not lack of vocations, kept the ranks of the Sisters of Mercy in the Portland diocese thin.

When Bishop Bacon died, the Sisters of Mercy had only four houses (Manchester, Bangor, Whitefield and Portland) in the diocese. This was not, of course, the full extent of the parish school system. He encouraged the pastors to establish schools and by 1874, the year of his death, there were twenty free parish schools in Maine and New Hampshire. We cannot locate all of them, but some have already been mentioned in the sketch of Father Daniel W. Murphy, the school builder. In rapid succession in the 1860's, as he was transferred from parish to parish, he had started schools in Houlton, Bath, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Bishop and pastors had to depend on lay teachers to conduct the vast majority of the parish schools and in most cases the schools were held somewhere in the parish church. It is a matter of regret that these pioneer Catholic lay teachers in the diocese have been forgotten. The name of only one has survived with any honors: Thomas Corcoran who taught the older boys of St. Ann's parish at the Park Street School in Manchester for thirty-two years. One of his pupils, James A. Broderick, a grandson of a Benedicta pioneer, became a prominent lawyer of the city and the managing editor of the *Guidon*, New Hampshire's first Catholic magazine. As a tribute to their work a school dedicated to the dean of these lay teachers would be a fitting and deserved memorial. For the educational foundations they laid permitted Bishop Bacon's successor, James A. Healy, and Bishop Bradley of Manchester to develop the diocesan school system during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The increase in schools under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy during these years was noteworthy. In New Hampshire there were nine: Laconia (1881), Dover (1883), Nashua (1885), Keene (1886), Portsmouth (1887), Concord (1888), Rochester (1890), Franklin (1894), Claremont (1896). In Maine there were seven: St. Dominic's in Portland (1877), three schools for the Indians at Oldtown (1878), Pleasant Point (1879) and Dana's Point (1879), St. Joseph's Academy in Deering (1881), Calais (1885), St. Mary's in Bangor (1898). In Portland, too, they had a fine new school on the cathedral property due to a generous gift of Winifred Kavanagh and called, to remind Maine Catholics of the contributions to the growth of the faith in Maine by this remarkable family, the Kavanagh School.

5. THE LAST YEARS OF BISHOP BACON

Soon after the dedication of the cathedral, Bacon made preparations for an important journey. Along with all the other bishops of the world, he had been called to Rome by Pius IX to attend the Vatican Council, scheduled to open December 8, 1869. He booked passage on the *Cimbria* for November 9, giving himself little time for any leisurely travel through Europe. This delay did give him a few more weeks in the diocese and he may have been aware that he did not have many years to live. Although only a few close friends were aware of it, he was not a healthy man. For years now, ever since his days as a pastor in Brooklyn, he had been suffering from a disease that eventually sapped his strength and took his life. Many noticed at the time of the dedication ceremonies that his once robust physique had been shattered and were naturally inclined to blame the worries connected with the construction of the cathedral for his condition. We know from his intimate friend, Father William Keegan, that as a Brooklyn pastor Bacon had spent many sleepless nights from the disease, and that he carried on during all the years of his episcopacy with the handicap. There has been a reluctance to identify the cause of his illness among those who mention his death, but it was, according to the Portland paper, bladder trouble and it must have been a malignant condition long before he died. It was obvious to all who saw him that he was not a well man.

Bishop Bacon was one of the silent men at the Vatican Council. Only a few of the American bishops played an important part in the discussions of the Council and of these Archbishop Martin J. Spalding of Baltimore and Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick of St. Louis were outstanding. Spalding had failed to persuade the American bishops to present a more or less solid front by accepting a position he had drafted: an explicit condemnation of teaching opposed to papal infallibility which would imply but would not define the doctrine. As in other countries, the American bishops were divided on the most important item on the Council's agenda, but a majority of them were opposed to an explicit definition of papal infallibility on the score that the definition would be inopportune. Bishop Bacon was among this majority.

Actually there is little evidence of any influence by him in the discussions and decisions, and little evidence of his activity in the Council. In the best study on the work on the American bishops, his name seldom appears. His name is omitted from the list of prelates attending, but this is a mistake; his name does not appear among those present at some sessions, and he probably did absent himself. But the study does give his position on papal infallibility. He was one of the nineteen Americans to sign the petition of January 15, 1870, requesting the Council not to propose infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff as a dogma of faith. His friends among the American hierarchy, McCloskey of New York, McFarland of Hartford, McQuaid of Rochester, Lynch of Charleston, were also signers of this petition. He was in a position to appreciate the argument that it was an inopportune time to define the doctrine; there was sufficient alarm in Maine and New Hampshire over the Vatican and the Pope without offering the occasion for more misunderstanding. But once the doctrine was defined, Bishop Bacon and the other American bishops accepted the dogma. We are told in the annals of the Sisters of Mercy that of all the sermons he preached to them the most stirring was the one on papal infallibility after his return from Rome.

Bishop Bacon had returned to Portland with good news. A long-standing problem had been solved. Ever since his installation American Madawaska, a part of Maine since the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, had been outside his spiritual jurisdiction. The Catholics of this area, and nearly all of the residents were Catholics, were in an anomalous situation; they were not, like the other Catholics of Maine, under the spiritual direction of the bishop of Portland. When the international boundary was finally determined, they were transferred to the newly created diocese of Fredericton, New

Brunswick (later the see was changed to St. John) and remained part of this diocese although in 1860 the spiritual care of the Madawaskans was given to the newly established diocese of Chatham. It is difficult to discover why the bishop of Portland was deprived of jurisdiction over this section of Maine, and Bishop Bacon requested a settlement of the problem while all the interested bishops were in Rome.

The American section of Madawaska had not developed as expected. After 1842 Canadian migration had dwindled; the Canadians who did migrate to Maine preferred the towns and cities where industries supplied them with work, and some of the American Madawaskans had migrated westward to Montana and Minnesota. But the young men of the district had made their contribution to the struggle to save the Union; about one hundred and fifty of them served during the war. There was dissatisfaction manifested during the Civil War over their incongruous ecclesiastical position; in 1864 a petition to make Madawaska a vicariate apostolic received rather strong support in and around the parish of St. Bruno. This would have severed the district both from the diocese of St. John and of Portland, and such a possibility was remote. But the petition did indicate dissatisfaction and no doubt had its influence in settling the problem in favor of Bishop Bacon. He won his point, and on August 16, 1870, Rome transferred Madawaska to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Portland. It was not until the previous year that the first towns in this district were incorporated.

In the fall of 1870 Bacon made his first visit to Madawaska. From Van Buren to Fort Kent he found the entrances to the towns and villages gaily decked in welcome. At St. Bruno's he made a change that affected the future of the district. Since 1868 the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross were in charge of this parish and they had been introduced into the district by the Bishop of St. John with the intention that they would start a college for the young men of Madawaska. For the first time since the departure of the Jesuits, Bishop Bacon had members of a religious congregation in his diocese. Now he told the Holy Cross Fathers that they would be replaced as soon as diocesan priests were available. To do this he had to depend on a priest sent by the Archbishop of Quebec, and in the fall of 1871 the Holy Cross Fathers withdrew from the diocese. The departure of the Jesuits at the beginning of his episcopacy, and the dismissal of the Holy Cross Fathers at the end, would seem to indicate that Bishop Bacon did not care to have members of a religious congregation in his diocese.

The bishop's health continued to decline. He was, however, active in and outside the diocese. In the spring of 1872 he was invited to be one of the consecrators of the Reverend Thomas F. Hendricken, the first bishop of Providence. This new diocese, a division of the Hartford diocese at the request of the ailing Bishop McFarland, was the sixth in New England, and was another indication of the growth of the church in New England. The consecration was in Providence on April 28 and gave Bacon the opportunity to see his friend, Archbishop McCloskey, who was the consecrator.[1] In the fall of that year he completed plans for an orphanage on the property purchased from the city of Portland on Free Street and arranged to have the Sisters of Mercy conduct it. Illness forced him to spend most of the summer of 1873 at his residence and he spent a miserable winter during 1873-1874. With no improvement during the spring he was advised to seek relief, if not improvement, in a trip. He decided to go to Rome with his friend Archbishop McCloskey, combining a health trip with his *ad limina* visit to Rome which was due within another year. At the end of July they sailed for Europe.

Bishop Bacon never reached Rome. He was taken suddenly ill three days before the ship was due in Brest and he was taken to a hospital there. Two days later Archbishop McCloskey continued on to Rome, assuring a friend in a letter that Bishop Bacon was "surrounded by kind sympathizing friends and having the best attendance of every kind." Bishop Bacon

[1] Bacon also assisted McCloskey in consecrating the Reverend Francis McNeirny, third bishop of Albany, on April 21, 1872 in New York.

himself did not so highly prize the medical attention he received at Brest; to one in his diocese he told how he had been "neglected and even ill used by an ignorant physician and rendered unfit to continue my journey." He did recover sufficiently to preside at a church ceremony on the feast of the Assumption, only to have a severe relapse. He now sensed that his death was near. He sent word to Father Barry, pastor of Concord, New Hampshire, to come to him at Brest. Late in October McCloskey returned to Brest where the homeward journey was arranged. The bishop wanted to die at home. He was a dying man when the ship reached New York on November 4. He was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital and died a few hours later on the morning of November 5.

Was Bishop Bacon the coadjutor to Archbishop McCloskey when he died? There were strong rumors at the time that he had gone to Rome to receive this appointment, and the third bishop of Portland has given substance to the rumor by recalling it in his autobiography. There was, wrote Cardinal O'Connell, "a well founded rumor that he was actually named as coadjutor to the Archbishop of New York when he prematurely died." If this is true, then the accepted reason of health for the trip to Rome is in need of correction. Archbishop McCloskey himself has, by some of his remarks in his letters written during the trip and in his eulogy delivered at the funeral, lent some support to the rumor. First of all, he wrote and spoke as if Bishop Bacon was enjoying fine health. No one on board ship "was in better health and spirits than" Bishop Bacon, he wrote a friend after Bacon had been taken ill. In his eulogy he recalled how the bishop had left Portland "apparently in the enjoyment of perfect health." This remark must have puzzled many in the cathedral, for even though the bishop had guarded his illness, it was apparent to many that his health was broken when he left Portland. But if Archbishop McCloskey had sought and received the appointment of his friend as coadjutor, one can understand why he stressed the apparent good health of the bishop after his death. He would not want it known that he had recommended a hopelessly ill bishop as his coadjutor. McCloskey was obviously disturbed by the rumors and instead of ignoring them, he took occasion of the eulogy to deny them. He insisted that Bishop Bacon had gone to Rome to make his *ad limina* visit; it was his duty, not health nor any other reason for the trip. This, he insisted, "was his sole object and purpose and other motives attributed to him are wholly erroneous." The denial only strengthened the rumor. Quite probably Rome was considering the first bishop of Portland for greater honors when he died.[1]

The Catholics of the diocese of Portland sadly prepared to receive the body of their bishop. The day after his death the body had been removed to the house of the Sisters of Mercy on Twelfth Street and there many bishops, clerics, and friends paid their last respects. That evening at seven the casket was taken to the Grand Central station for the trip to Portland. On the morning of the seventh, the Portland newspaper reported thousands packed the railroad station and nearby streets as the train arrived, and a procession accompanied the body to the episcopal residence. On Sunday the body was placed in the cathedral and a steady stream of mourners prayed at the casket that day and the next.

Portland was genuinely grieved by the bishop's death. The *Eastern Argus* called him a man of rare abilities, a fluent, forcible and impressive preacher with a mind that was clear and comprehensive, a judgment that was correct and a taste that was perfect. It would be impossible to "overestimate the amount of good he did by word and example during his years of service" in Maine. He had won the sincere regard of all and this was "well attested by the presence of a large number of our most prominent citizens of all denominations at the funeral ceremonies."

The funeral services were held on Tuesday. Eight bishops attended. Archbishop Williams celebrated the Mass, with the Very Reverend John O'Donnell assisting him. Archbishop

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[1] Six years later, on October 1, 1880, Bishop Michael A. Corrigan of Newark was appointed coadjutor to McCloskey. Corrigan succeeded to the New York see on October 10, 1885.

McCloskey preached the funeral sermon. He was buried in the vault he had prepared in the cathedral, not far from his mother, his sister, and three aunts whose remains he had respectfully gathered and transferred to the vault in the cathedral chapel with the request that they never be removed.

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JAMES AUGUSTINE HEALY
SECOND BISHOP OF PORTLAND: 1875-1900

FATHER O'DONNELL, as Vicar-General, assumed charge of the diocese when Bishop Bacon started on his European trip and remained in charge during the bishop's illness in Brest. The bishop, however, evidently suspecting that he would not return alive, had provided for the administration of the diocese in the event of his death. According to the Boston *Pilot,* borrowing its information from the Portland *Eastern Argus,* Bishop Bacon had prior to sailing entrusted a letter designating the administrator of the diocese to one of the diocesan priests. In the event of the bishop's death the priest was directed to give the letter to Archbishop McCloskey, the metropolitan, after the funeral. Following instructions, then, McCloskey received the letter on November 10. It was in his hands when the *Argus,* describing for its readers the obsequies of the first bishop of Portland, let be known that a good but unnamed authority had informed the editorial office that the priest named in the letter was Father John Barry of Concord, New Hampshire. The bishop himself had indirectly divulged the contents of the letter by calling for Barry, and not O'Donnell, when he was ill in the Brest hospital. Barry had remained at his bedside, had watched over him during the homeward voyage, was with him at his death, and accompanied the casket to Portland. Eleven days after the funeral the *Pilot* reported that Barry was carrying on in the bishop's place in a worthy manner, and all references to Father Barry in the diocesan histories agree that he was the administrator of the diocese during the vacancy. The only one, it seems, who was not aware of this was the person who prepared the information for the *Catholic Directory* for 1875, for there we read that Father O'Donnell was administrator of the diocese. Probably the two priests, Barry and O'Donnell, agreed that for the public record it was better for the Vicar-General to be listed also as the administrator.

The bishop's choice for administrator of the diocese could well be taken as his preference, too, for the vacant see. If so, we can assume that Bishop Bacon had recommended Barry both to Rome and to Archbishop McCloskey. It was the task of the archbishop, as metropolitan, to discuss with the bishops of the province the merits of candidates and to recommend a list of three to Rome. The Catholics of the diocese naturally preferred a priest from the diocese, and a native of Maine, like Father Barry, would be welcomed. He was young, only thirty-nine, able, healthy, and on friendly terms with the people of Concord, New Hampshire where he had been pastor for ten years. The likely successor of Bishop Bacon became a choice topic of conversation during the winter of 1874-1875 and we can be sure that all candidates were carefully scrutinized and compared wherever two or more Catholics gathered together. More than four months passed before all conjecturing ceased. On February 12 Rome appointed James Augustine Healy as the second bishop of Portland.

1. THE STRANGE JOURNEY FROM GEORGIA TO MAINE

Gradually the Catholics of the diocese gathered some biographical data about their new bishop. Not many in Maine knew him personally. Winifred Kavanagh and her friends in and around Damariscotta were among the few who did, for he had visited the Kavanaghs frequently; most of the priests of the diocese had heard about him and knew that he had been a dear friend and companion of Bishop Fitzpatrick, was now a friend and adviser of Bishop Williams, and was pastor of St. James in Boston, the largest parish in New England. He was young for a bishop, in his middle forties, and they soon discovered that Rome had selected a truly unique person to be their spiritual leader. Indeed the choice had tremendous significance, though it was not fully understood by many at the time.

James Healy was of partial Negro ancestry, the eldest son of an Irish immigrant who had worked his way to the status of a fairly prosperous plantation owner near Macon, Georgia, and of a mulatto mother who was legally a slave. James and his four brothers and three sisters were also slaves under the Georgia law, and the African strain appeared in various degrees among the children: faintly but definitely in James, sparingly in Patrick, unmistakably in Sherwood. Since opportunities for a good education were closed to them locally and the father was determined that his children would not be deprived of this advantage, he sought the opportunity in the north. He discovered that they were not welcomed in northern schools, but he succeeded in placing his three oldest sons in Quaker schools, first in Long Island for the elementary grades and then in New Jersey for grammar. James was seven years old when his father took him north, and it is doubtful that he ever saw his mother again or ever returned to his birthplace.

A providential meeting between Michael Healy, the father, and Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston changed the lives of the Healy children. The bishop told him to send his sons to Holy Cross College in Worcester, only one year in operation, and his daughters to Boston where his own sister would look out for them. In the fall of 1844 the four Healys enrolled at the college, Sherwood coming from the plantation to join James, Hugh and Patrick who were in New Jersey. That fall, too, the four Healys were baptized. At the college they were befriended and guided by Father George Fenwick, brother of Bishop Fenwick, and the priest's kindness and assistance were rewarded by a deep love and lasting friendship on the part of the Healys, especially of James.

The Healys adjusted themselves to their new world remarkably well. They were accepted by northerners and southerners, and although it was obvious that these Georgian lads were partly negro they were no outcasts on the campus. James was a leader in and out of class, and the diary he kept during his senior year (1848-1849) tells how normal was his growth and his college life; he had a good mind and this no doubt gained him respect, he was an avid reader and a keen observer of contemporary events, and he measured the abilities and personalities of his campus companions and jotted down his findings, favorable and otherwise, in his diary. He was inclined to be critical and outspoken, and the diary may have been his way of controlling his bent for being outspoken, a trait he retained in after years. Although he was and remained sensitive about his negro blood, he did not suffer from any inferiority complex and he succeeded in forming friendships at college that were lasting. But the Healys did lack a normal family life, and the brothers and sisters sought compensation for this loss by developing into a closely knit clan, watching over and protecting each other.

James Healy graduated in July, 1849, as did his brother Hugh, and John Brownson, son of the famous Orestes whose conversion had disturbed New England, and Jack McCabe. It was the college's first commencement, and James Healy, on the score of his scholastic rating, was the first to receive a degree granted by Bishop Fenwick's college. He also delivered the valedictory; at times he spoke with tears in his eyes and he moved others to tears. But they were mostly tears of joy and gratitude; he had been thinking how good God had been to him and how grateful he must ever be that his father's path had in a mysterious way crossed that of Bishop Fitzpatrick. The presence of the bishop in the audience was a reminder of that providential meeting, but neither James nor his brothers needed a visible reminder of what the man meant to them. He was and would always remain "the tender father, the most wonderful among the illustrious Bishops of Boston."

James now started his preparation for the priesthood at the Grand Seminary in Montreal, while Hugh entered the business world in New York and assumed charge over the Healys in Worcester and Boston. The whole Healy family would have been reunited somewhere in the north if the father's plans had materialized; he intended to send the three children at home north for their education, liquidate his plantation and possessions, and then join them with his wife. But death suddenly intervened, first the mother's and then the father's within a few weeks of each other in 1850. The Healys were now orphans, and Hugh returned to the plantation to rescue his two younger sisters, Josephine and Eliza, and his youngest brother, Eugene. They were not, however, destitute, for the father had protected his property by a will that was in time executed. James continued his studies, transferring to Paris for the last two years of them.[1] In the meanwhile Patrick, graduating in 1850, entered the Society of Jesus, and Sherwood, after a brief adventure in the business world, became a seminarian in Montreal where the three sisters were being educated. There was no end to sorrows and troubles, however. Suddenly Hugh, so able, so generous, so tireless in his concern for his brothers and sisters, died early in the fall of 1853. He was alone in New York at the time, but James and Sherwood, in France, were lonelier when the news arrived. Each death in the family brought the surviving closer to each other, and now that the burden of caring for the younger ones shifted to James his affection and concern for them became fatherly. They needed protection, too, for they were reaching that age when they realized that people, even friends, even Catholics, made much about the color of one's skin.

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[1] Healy's negroid strain has sired some strange stories, and the strangest of all is the visit of Ellen Craft to Portland to see her relative who was the bishop of Portland, as reported in *Goodbye To Uncle Tom* (New York, 1956), by J. C. Furnas (pp. 220-222). The escape of Ellen Craft and her husband William, both Georgia slaves, with the help of the Underground Railroad, is one of the most exciting in the history of escaped slaves. Ellen (she was light skinned) managed to reach Boston in the guise of a gentleman-traveller, with William (dark skinned) acting as her servant. The Fugitive Slave Act (1850) made Boston, where the couple was the toast of the Abolitionist, unsafe, and they were hurried to London. Before sailing, we are told, she visited Portland to see her cousin who was the Catholic bishop of Portland. Furnas does not identify the bishop, but the reference must be to Healy; as his authority Furnas offers an off the record statement of S. T. Pickard, editor of the Portland *Transcript*, given in 1893 to W. S. Siebert, historian of the Underground Railroad activities, and Furnas considers the story "good enough to be taken seriously."

James Healy and Ellen Craft may have been cousins, but the discrepancies in this story incline one to doubt it. First, we are told James' mother was freed (presumably by her husband), and mother and son (as if James were the only child) went to Canada where he became a Catholic. How James and Ellen were related is not explained. Then we have Ellen visiting Portland in the early 1850's to see James who is the Bishop of Portland. James was at this time a seminarian, either in Montreal or in Paris; not until 1875 was he appointed Bishop of Portland. If Ellen was his cousin, eager to see him, as the story assumes, she could have easily discovered where he was, for many in Boston knew. However there is this posibility: Healy may have been on vacation in Maine with the Kavanaghs in Damariscotta, and Ellen may have gone there to see him. By the time the story reached Pickard, the bishop angle may have been added for those who like their stories well gilded; a good newspaper man, however, would have spotted these discrepancies. Pickard added Bishop Healy would not acknowledge this story; he had good reasons for his refusal.

James was ordained a priest in Paris on June 10, 1854, and he was soon back in Boston where he was under the protection of his friend, Bishop Fitzpatrick, and where he could protect the younger Healys. It was not until after his ordination and his return to Boston that the slaves on his father's plantation, since his death leased out for labor, were sold. No young priest could have escaped disturbing qualms over that transaction; but for God's grace it could have been some one selling the Healy children into bondage.

Late in the year 1854, a few months after his return, Healy began his close association with the bishop that soon became for all practical purposes that of an auxiliary, first as the bishop's secretary, then a year later as chancellor; he became his constant companion and adviser and, as the bishop's health declined, assumed more of the burdens of administering the diocese. The bishop, by entrusting Healy with responsibilities, was teaching the Catholics of the diocese a badly needed lesson, — that talent and merit and virtue, not racial strain, were the measure of a man and of a priest. When Bishop Fitzpatrick died (1866) and was succeeded by Bishop John Williams, Healy's status did not decline; he succeeded Williams as pastor of St. James' and became the bishop's close friend and adviser. This was the largest parish in New England and there he remained as pastor for nine years until his appointment as Bacon's successor. Sherwood was by then back in Boston and he, too, became closely associated with Bishop Williams. He had the sharpest mind of the Healys and was Williams' theologian at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 and at the Vatican Council a few years later. Patrick was selected for high administrative posts also; in 1868 he was appointed dean of studies at Georgetown University and five years later, 1873, was named president of the university. One could hardly say that the mixture of racial strains had had disastrous effects.

The news of his appointment as Bacon's successor did not come as a surprise to those who had followed Healy's career closely. Both Fitzpatrick and Williams had made clear their preference for him and had given him every opportunity to prove himself. Whatever others thought, he had satisfied them. Indeed their esteem of him is a clue to his ability and personality. "I have no one," Fitzpatrick confessed, "who could do what he does for me." And Williams later admitted: "We were just like two brothers. No one was more dear to me than he." One can not lightly cast aside the judgments of these two respected men. But Healy was now on his own; he could no longer rely on the protection of sympathetic immediate superiors.

The consecration, Healy decided, would be in Portland. But there were many consultations before the date was set for the first consecration of a Catholic bishop in Maine. First, he had to consult with Archbishop Williams, for the diocese of Boston had been raised to an archdiocese on the day he was appointed to the Portland see and Williams had been elevated to the rank of an archbishop. This, of course, pleased Healy; now his dear friend would be his metropolitan and this meant that Healy's influence in New England would be considerable. His own consecration, however, had to be delayed until the pallium was conferred on Williams. Williams, in turn, had to consult Archbishop John McCloskey who had been named the first American Cardinal. Pius IX was sending a papal delegate, Monsignor Caesare Roncetti, to confer the red hat on McCloskey and the pallium on Williams. May 2 was selected for this ceremony. Healy decided on June 2 for his consecration. This meant a long delay, but he wanted a fine day for the event and he knew that good summer days were late in coming to Maine.

He did, however, visit Portland to get acquainted with his responsibilities, his clergy, his flock, and to arrange for the ceremony. The Boston clergy bade him farewell with a purse and kind words; they told him that his mirthful companionship at social gatherings would be missed and they recalled how his good work in Boston had won the praise and admiration of the non-Catholics. The Maine clergy also welcomed him with a purse and cordial greetings; though personally unknown to most, his name and his work were, he was told, familiar to all. They assured him that he would find the clergy willing and faithful cooperators in all his projects.

This assurance of cooperation was not, in their case, a formality. They were making amends for a public humiliation inflicted on Healy by one of their members. Since college days Healy had visited Winifred Kavanagh in Damariscotta; after his ordination and return to Boston he, and sometimes his sisters, would spend a vacation with her. He liked children and children liked him, and since this was so we can not agree that Healy with all his faults was a pompous person as Cardinal O'Connell in his autobiography asserts; children are not attracted by nor do they become friendly with pompous individuals. He became interested in the few Catholic children in the neighborhood and gathered them together for instruction in their religion. The pastor of St. Dennis' in North Whitefield, Father James Peterson, heard of this and warned him to keep away from his charges. But a personal warning was not enough; he had to protect his charges from the contamination of negro blood and so he denounced him from the altar. The incident is an example of what the Healys had to accept from their fellow Christians because they had negro blood in their veins. But it also reveals how deeply the heresy of racism had been accepted by priests and parishioners and how ridiculous the heresy was. Peterson, an Irish immigrant, was considered by the Anglo-Saxon minded Yankees as one of the innumerable unwashed, and he, in turn, considered a fellow priest with African blood a corrupting influence. The priests of the Portland diocese knew, of course, that their new bishop had been publicly denounced by one of them when they proffered him their cooperation and they wanted to ease an uneasy situation. No doubt their action helped, but Healy was long haunted by the fear that disrespect and contempt for his person on the score of his racial strain would lead to disrespect and contempt of his episcopal authority. He became unduly cautious.

The consecration ceremony aroused great interest in Portland, and even though the event was competing with the Beecher trial the Portland papers were generous with their space. The day was beautiful and the cathedral was thronged; there were nine bishops and over one hundred and fifty priests from New England, New York, and the British Provinces. Archbishop McCloskey, now John Cardinal McCloskey, was expected but was detained. For a day at least Portland looked like Rome. Williams had the honor of consecrating him, assisted by Bishop Francis McNierney of Albany and Bishop Patrick T. O'Reilly of Springfield. Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly of Halifax preached. Sherwood was master of ceremonies and Father Peter J. Blenkinsop, S.J., President of Holy Cross when Healy graduated, was Williams' deacon of honor. Portland was impressed by the affair and by Bacon's successor. He had already, from the contacts made during his pre-consecration visits, "won the respect and esteem of those who had the pleasure of making his acquaintance."

He was not, however, from the same mould as was Bacon. In appearance he was not impressive. A seminarian, who later became the fourth bishop of Portland, saw him four years after his appointment and wrote this description home to his parents: "I saw Bishop Healy of Portland at Notre Dame Church [Montreal] . . .; he is very stern, noble looking man, though very few would think him a Bishop." He lacked the imposing stature, although his head was an exception; this was large for his body, and he was pleasantly surprised to discover that he could wear Bacon's mitres. His intelligent face was far from forbidding, and his usual grave manner concealed a gay disposition; he remained quite child-like in his ways and this, no doubt, was his secret power over children. They did not fear him. His voice was rich, musical, made for the pulpit; Portland had one of the best preachers in New England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Fortunately a recent study of Healy has rescued him and his work from oblivion and only the salient features of his career will be recalled in this section.[1]

2. PROBLEMS AT THE START

By the time he was consecrated Bishop Healy had a fairly sound understanding of the diocese. There was, despite Bacon's good work, a shortage of priests and churches. The stream of Catholic immigrants, Irish and Canadian, was creating the need for another church in some communities, or was settling in missions that needed resident priests. Portland was a good example of the change coming over Maine, and the change was made manifest on March 17. A parade was the attraction in the morning, and in the evening three thousand crowded the city hall to attend a concert and a lecture (on the mysteries of Irish history), the Montgomery Guards had a social "in their armory" which the Sheridan Cadets were invited to attend, and the Young Men's Social Club had their dance in Lancaster Hall. All these activities were reported at length in the city papers, along with the activities of the Irish societies through the country, and the *Eastern Argus* in good humor noted that "St. Patrick is getting to be about as big a man as Fourth of July." The change was more noticeable on Easter Sunday, a week or so later, with the Catholic churches and chapels repeatedly filled for Mass. The significance of this did not escape the editors; in the estimate of one of them, there were probably more attending the High Mass at the

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[1] Albert S. Foley, S.J., *Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954).

Cathedral "than was present at any of the places of worship in this city."

What the Irish were doing to Portland and Bangor the French-Canadians were repeating in Lewiston and Biddeford. Bishop Healy would have to build more churches and find more priests. Since this was so, the news that the church and rectory in Machias was destroyed by fire five days after his consecration was disheartening. This loss was not, as some have said, the work of anti-Catholics. The fire, probably due to a careless tramp, had started in a barn during the night and destroyed a hostel, the Old Machias House, the homes of two prominent citizens, several barns and other small buildings, as well as the church property. The Catholics lost a landmark, for the church was an old one, built in 1845 before the diocese was established. Fortunately, and this was a clear sign of the changing times, the church and rectory had been insured for five thousand dollars, and work on a new and larger church was started without delay. But replacing the Machias church was not solving the bishop's problem of more churches for a growing diocese.

Churches and priests were only part of Healy's problems. He had inherited a heavy debt; he was, as he wrote four years later when pressed to pay what he considered an unjust debt, "swamped by debts incurred by my predecessor." They amounted to 110,000 dollars. His advisers, both clerical and lay, assured him that the diocese could bear it. He made some changes in the diocesan curia. He appointed Father Barry his Vicar-General, but he did not remove Father O'Donnell. He had two Vicars-General. This would have been a practical move if one of them were in northern Maine, at Bangor for instance, and the other in New Hampshire, or if O'Donnell was too old for the burdens of office. But this was not the case; O'Donnell was only fifty-four and both were pastors in nearby New Hampshire parishes: Barry in Concord and O'Donnell in Nashua. Barry, it seems, exercised the functions of the office, while O'Donnell retained the title. No one was appointed to succeed O'Donnell when he died in 1882. Healy found himself a new chancellor, too. Like Barry he was from Holy Cross, young, well-liked, gifted. Denis Bradley became rector of the cathedral and chancellor, and he retained these posts until 1880 when he was appointed pastor of St. Joseph's in Manchester; by then Healy was considering a division of the diocese and had Bradley in mind as his choice for the new see.

Did the bishop discuss the contents of his first pastoral letter with his vicar, chancellor and the newly formed diocesan council? On one item he did not need advice. He forbade the priests of the diocese from denouncing either priest or lay person from the altar. Father Peterson, now the pastor of St. David's in Rockland, knew the reason for this prohibition.[1] However, the reason was not entirely personal. The pulpit, reserved for the teaching of the gospel, could be abused and the abuse could involve the priest in law suits. The bishop had in mind a case that took place a few days before his consecration. A pastor in Chelsea of the Boston diocese had been sued for slander by a parishioner because he had been publicly and repeatedly denounced from the pulpit for living in mortal sin. The accused sought relief not in the confessional, which is the objective of pastoral reprimand, but in the courts, and the case caught the fancy of non-Catholics. Healy knew there was no better method devised for sapping a declining faith than pulpit fulminations. He protected both the pulpit and the parishioner by forbidding them.

He sought help and advice from the laity, too. He was encouraged by discovering the emergence of a group of Catholics to positions of prominence in their communities, lay leaders on whom he could call for advice and financial aid. The group was small, but it was no small feat to break through the solid barriers that protected the recognized leaders in local and state affairs. A few Catholics, with roots in Maine such as Winifred Kavanagh and James Cottrill Madigan, could not be denied recognition, and their advice was invaluable to Healy. Winifred Kavanagh could give him information on the situation of Maine not at the disposal of most pastors. Madigan was now a respected leader in the state, a well-to-do lawyer with his office in Houlton, one of the leading Catholic lay men in New England. He had discussed the financial status of the diocese with the bishop shortly after his arrival, and he could post the bishop on the political situation in the state. In 1875 he had been appointed one of the five commissioners to revise the state constitution. He was a good man to have as an adviser; he had only four more years to live, unfortunately, but he had sons to carry on his good work. Albert Whittier Madigan, his eldest son, was beginning his law practice and in 1877 was elected attorney for Aroostook County; another son, John B. Madigan, would be an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court.

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[1] The *Catholic Directory* for 1875 (see p. 299) lists the church in Rockland as St. David's. If this is correct, the name was later changed to St. Bernard.

He soon found a man who would advise him wisely on New Hampshire affairs, and the man's rise to legal prominence in the state was an unexcelled example of the opportunities awaiting the able and ambitious sons of honest and hardworking immigrants. John M. Mitchell, one of New Hampshire's noted corporation lawyers, was born in Plymouth on July 6, 1849, the son of John and Honora (Doherty) Mitchell who had migrated to America the year before and after a brief stay in Boston had elected to settle on a farm in this small New Hampshire town. After attending the local school, John went to Salem, a town many miles south of Plymouth, to teach in the public schools, but he attended classes in Derby Academy when his schedule permitted. In the summer he was back in Plymouth working on his father's farm. One can measure his native ability and leadership and the confidence he inspired in others by recalling that the Yankees of Salem elected this son of an Irish immigrant the superintendent of their school when he was only nineteen. He was soon studying law privately and by 1870 was working in the office of Bingham and Bingham, leading law firm in the northern section of the state; by 1881 he was Harry Bingham's partner, located in Concord. He became

Healy's legal adviser in New Hampshire, and when the diocese was divided he continued that same position with Bishop Bradley.

The emergence of the immigrant and the immigrant's sons to prominence was encouraging. A few had quickly succeeded beyond expectation in Maine, and Healy soon discovered who they were. One such person, a promising young lawyer of Eastport, had died, he learned to his regret, the day before he was appointed bishop. John W. McMahon was the town's tax collector, a director of the town's bank and insurance company, and "highly esteemed by all classes for his honesty and integrity of character." His death was a severe loss to the town and more so to the diocese. A glance at the Portland directory (until 1846 this annual segregated the negroes to a section in the rear of the volume) would tell him who the wealthier Catholics in this city were. Among the principal taxpayers were some Irish merchants and tradesmen: Thomas Lynch, a merchant, paying a tax of $300 in 1875; Patrick O'Neil, a grocer, paying $245; James Quinn, a boilermaker, paying nearly $700 in personal and company taxes. More prominent than these merchants were James and Frank W. Cunningham, two building contractors who erected some of the largest buildings and finest monuments in the city and state during their lifetime. James was the more active of the two brothers in civic and political affairs, and his rise to a position of wealth and influence also pointed up the opportunities in America for an able and ambitious immigrant. He had arrived in Portland in 1863 and started his new life in America as a poor journeyman mason; he became one of New England's noted contractors, retaining all the time his strong simple faith and generous heart. Two of his buildings that he took considerable pride in, the Union Railroad Station and the Lafayette Hotel (which he built for himself) still remain as reminders of his prominence.

Charles McCarthy, Cunningham's friend, was probably the most influential Catholic in Portland, and Bishop Healy made his acquaintance without delay and depended on him for both small and important favors, from a box of paper collars that could be converted into roman to assistance for his brother. This brother is not identified, but probably was Eugene, a restless soul who would interrupt his wandering by occasional visits to his brothers. In 1877, when the brother visited Portland, the bishop sent him to McCarthy with the following note:

> This is my brother and if you can suggest to him any by which he can make an honest living, it would be a very great favour to me. I can only say that, as you see & more than you see, he is smart enough, too smart.

McCarthy, no doubt, did what he could for the bishop's brother and Bishop Healy, in turn, helped McCarthy to settle down to a family life.

For many years McCarthy was, as the Portland papers noted, "one of the prominent business men of Portland." Bishop Healy discovered that Catholics in other communities were forging ahead, men like James Reynolds of Gardiner, Thomas J. Lynch of Augusta, Cornelius Hanrahan and James Donahoe of Rockland. Thanks to a large legacy from Reynolds the bishop was able to build a convent and a home for the aged in Deering; St. Bernard's of Rockland was freed from debt by the generosity of Hanrahan; seminarians were educated by the Donahoe money. Lynch, a son of a pioneer Catholic family in Augusta, was another example of the successful immigrant's son. A lawyer, he became something of a business tycoon in the city: trustee of the Kennebec Savings Bank, director of the Granite National Bank, treasurer of the Augusta Loan and Building Association, president of the Augusta Trust Company, director of the Edwards Manufacturing Company and the Street Railway Company. At the beginning of Healy's years as bishop, it was the Irish, the first immigrant group in Maine, who were breaking the barriers; near the end of his episcopacy and the end of the century, the Canadians and their children were doing the same in their communities.

Yet his first years as bishop, despite his training for the episcopal office, his acquaintance with Maine, and the advantages of competent clerical and lay advisers, were not happy ones. Mother Mary Warde found it difficult to work with him, and a long and painful dispute with a pastor so disturbed him that twice he offered to resign his office.

About a month after his consecration Healy went to Biddeford where he confirmed about four hundred children of St. Joseph's, "the new French church," in the morning, and about one hundred and seventy in St. Mary's, "the Irish Catholic church," in the afternoon. It was the secular newspaper of Portland, no doubt borrowing the descriptions from the Catholics themselves, that identified the Catholic churches by nationalities; it was one of the unfortunate aspects of the Catholic church of the nineteenth century that nationality took precedence over Catholicism. St. Joseph's of Biddeford was the source of the bishop's troubles; more exactly, it was the pastor of the church, Father John R. Ponsardin. We can be sure the bishop had been posted on the situation before the visit: a parish heavily in debt, an unfinished church, and a pastor drawing an exorbitant interest on a personal loan to the parish. The pastor was eventually removed; Ponsardin's name disappears from the *Catholic Directory* after 1877. The pastor, however, challenged the bishop's right to remove him on the score of parish debts and brought the case to Rome where it dragged on until 1881 and a verdict favorable to the pastor was rendered and sustained. Technically the case depended on a fact: had Bishop Bacon admitted Ponsardin to the diocese of Portland. Healy could find no evidence that he had; Ponsardin submitted evidence he had. Rome accepted the pastor's evidence and held the diocese liable for the parish debt. To rid the diocese of the man, Bishop Healy had to recognize the priest's claim against the diocese and reinstate him as pastor with the understanding he would immediately resign.

The proceedings of this case so disturbed Healy that twice he offered to resign. One can understand how Healy longed to return to the protection of Archbishop Williams and the security of a Boston parish, but Rome was not impressed with offers of resignation as a solution to administrative problems. Healy's reputation was not enhanced in Rome by the Ponsardin case. In New England, where the situation was better understood, he retained the respect that known ability had won. But the affair had consumed far too much of his time that should have been given to diocesan problems. Father Peter E. Dupont, appointed in 1877 and pastor of St. Joseph's for thirty-eight years, completed the church that had cost $125,000. Bishop Healy and the parishioners were in a much happier frame of mind on May 9, 1883 when the church was dedicated.

A clash of personalities brought on the coolness between Mother Warde and Bishop Healy; both were accustomed to control the administration of their affairs. Bacon had given Mother Warde a free hand in administering the Sisters of Mercy; Healy, however, was not inclined to give subordinates much freedom of decision. He liked to regulate details. The *Annals* of the Sisters of Mercy admit this clash between their superiors; it is quite evident that Mother Warde did not conceal the fact that she did not relish doing business with the new bishop. Interested (but unnamed) parties, it is said, prejudiced the bishop against her from the start. From the start, too, the bishop gave Mother Warde the occasion to question, but not to change, his judgment. He decided that the Kavanagh gift, intended by Bacon for a convent, would be used for a school building. Since Healy was a friend of Winifred Kavanagh, the donor, we can assume that this change of plans had her approval. The two, however, learned to appreciate each other, and the bishop was a gracious host to Mother Warde on her golden jubilee early in 1883 when the Catholics of New England paid her a deserved tribute for her contribution to the growth of the Church in these states.

Yet it does seem that happier relations between bishop and Sisters began after the Sisters in Maine became an independent community, under a new superior, Sister Mary Teresa Pickersgill, in 1884. By then the Sisters better understood the bishop and saw that his concern for them and for the advance of education overshadowed his faults. Probably they never did reconcile themselves to some of his ways; of insisting that promotions in the classroom were automatic provided the child was physically present, of reserving to himself the power to expel from the school, of declaring holidays without notice, of forbidding dancing at school socials and plays, of interrupting school plays to order an overdressed girl off the stage, of reminding Sisters that their habits needed mending.

But one must not think that Healy did not appreciate the work of Mother Warde and the Sisters of Mercy. He did, and the proof is in their expansion in his diocese during the first decade of his episcopacy while Mother Warde was living. In Maine alone five new schools were opened: at Indian Island (1878) and Pleasant Point (1879) for the Indian children, an academy for girls at Deering (1883), and parish schools in Calais and Oldtown, both in 1885. And he gave them in the Kavanagh school in Portland one of the best school buildings in the state. And the proof of his concern and friendly relations with the Sisters will be found in the lengthy, warm, informative letters he wrote their communities when he was absent on trips.

3. GROWTH UNDER HEALY

Not many bishops live to celebrate the silver jubilee of their consecration. James Healy was the only one during the first century of the diocese of Portland, and his twenty-five years as bishop were important ones for the nation. The nation expanded in population and in territory and emerged, as the new century began, as a world power with possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Growth was also the salient feature of the diocese of Portland during these years, growth in population, in churches, in priests, in schools, and in religious orders and congregations introduced into the diocese. The growth of population was not of the bishop's making; it was part of the nation's growth. But the problems sired by this growth were his and they were many.

The division of the diocese in 1884 is the best measure of the growing diocese. By 1880 the diocese was too large for one man, and Healy prepared the way for a division by appointing his chancellor, Father Denis Bradley, pastor of St. Joseph's of Manchester. In 1884 New Hampshire was separated from the diocese of Portland, and Bradley was appointed the first bishop of the new diocese of Manchester. Neither bishop knew at the time of the separation how many Catholics were in their dioceses. According to the *Catholic Directory* of 1884, printing the report sent by Healy for the undivided diocese, there were 90,000 in both states. This figure was obviously incorrect. In the 1885 *Directory* Bradley estimated there were "about 60,000" in New Hampshire with forty-one priests to minister to them. This meant that there were only 30,000 Catholics in Maine, where there were forty-six diocesan priests. Healy knew there were many more Catholics than this and made no attempt to give an estimate for this year. Both he and Bradley omitted population figures for the next three years. Actually the Catholics were increasing so rapidly the two bishops were unable to give a fair estimate of the Catholic population in their diocese. By 1889 they had what they considered fairly reliable figures and included them in their annual reports: 70,000 for Maine and 73,000 for New Hampshire. This was a remarkable growth since the diocese was established in the early 1850's and the increase during the last decade of the century was even more impressive. During the 1890's Maine's 70,000 Catholics mushroomed to nearly 100,000. At the turn of the century the Catholics of Maine were, of course, still a minority, but they had ceased to be an insignificant one; one-seventh of the population was now Catholic. During the diocese's first half century Maine's Catholic population had multiplied nearly fivefold while the population of the state had increased only from 583,169 to 694,466. Maine would have had a stationary population without the increase in the number of Catholics. This is one contribution that can not be denied them.

The Reverend Washington Gladden, a prominent minister of the late nineteenth century, credited them with another in his article that appeared in the first volume of the *Century:* the preservation of family life.[1] After a study of the alarming increase of the divorce rate in New England he feared for the permanency of the family and he submitted figures for the New England states to support his fears. He was shocked by the rapid increase, and still more shocked to discover that the divorce rate was higher in Bangor and New Haven than in Chicago, a city a New Englander was inclined to place near Babylon. At the same time he discovered that divorces among the Catholics of New England were few and he admitted that the Catholic Church was proving itself "the conservator of the family."

This increase of Catholics in Maine can be traced to the immigration of the Irish and French-Canadians, two racial groups with large family traditions, who constituted the first and second phases of what is known as the second colonization of New England. The Irish, as we know, predominated in the decades prior to the Civil War, and although they continued to arrive during the post-war decades, they were outnumbered by the French-Canadians. The flood of French-Canadians into New England started with the Civil War and the flow continued during the year of Healy's episcopacy. They moved into the mill towns of Maine where they labored for Yankee owners of textile and shoe factories. Some of these immigrants did not come with the intent of establishing permanent residences and hence there was much travelling back and forth across the Maine-Canadian border. This was one reason why Healy found it impossible to estimate the Catholics of his diocese. But the great majority remained, and by the early 1890's there were an estimated 52,986 French-Canadians in Maine.

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[1] "The Increase of Divorce," *Century* I (January, 1882), 411-420.

Not all of them lived in the textile towns. From the start the Madawaskans, numbering 16,000 at the turn of the century, gave some balance between factory and farm life, and after the 1893 depression many of the unemployed drifted to the abandoned Yankee farms. Wherever they went in sufficient numbers, however, they followed a similar pattern of life. The Quebec family and parish life were transferred to Maine's towns and cities – a closely knit community built around their parish church, the presbytery, the parochial school and convent; intent on preserving their language and customs along with their faith, they isolated themselves from the main currents of the town's life and also from the Irish Catholics of the locality. But at the end of the century the two immigrant groups had written new chapters in the history of the diocese of Portland.

The impact of the French-Canadians on the diocese of Portland is best underscored by recalling the growth of religious congregations under Bishop Healy. Much of this growth derived from parish life. When Healy arrived in Portland there was, as we know, only one group of Sisters in Maine and no group of religious men. The Sisters of Mercy were established in seven communities by 1900: in Portland, Bangor, Biddeford, Calais, Oldtown, and the two Indian reservations, and, with the exception of these two latter places, these Sisters worked in institutions of what were called Irish parishes. When Healy died there were ten orders or congregations of religious women in Maine. The Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame were in Lewiston (1881), the sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary were in Biddeford (1885), the Ursulines were in Waterville (1888) and Augusta (1892), the Sisters of Charity in Lewiston (1888), the Little Sisters of Mary in Wallagrass (1888), the Daughters of Our Lady of Sion in Lewiston (1891), the Sisters of the Presentation in Westbrook (1894), the Sisters of the Holy Family in Van Buren (1894), and the Sisters of the Rosary in St. Luce (1895) and Frenchville (1900). All these were French-speaking groups and all, with one exception, were invited to work in French parishes. The one exception was the Notre Dame Sisters who had returned to Maine after their hasty departure under Bacon. They returned to care for the education of the children of St. Joseph's parish in Lewiston at the invitation of Father Wallace and the approval, of course, of Bishop Healy. It could well be that the suggestion came from Healy, for he had a strong attachment to the Notre Dame Sisters. His sisters had been educated at their Montreal academy, and Martha had entered the congregation and had remained a member for ten years; Eliza, too, joined the congregation and spent her life with them. It was a wise move, for the Sisters educating the youth of a parish could best bridge the gap between the two major Catholic racial groups of the diocese. They succeeded too, and when St. Joseph's parish was divided in 1894 these Sisters were invited to educate the children of St. Patrick's parish.

Bishop Healy introduced priests and brothers of religious orders and congregations to help in the work of education and care of the parishes. To Lewiston came the Dominicans and the Marist Brothers, to Van Buren the Marist Fathers, and to Bangor the Christian Brothers. All but the latter, who taught the boys of St. Mary's parish in Bangor, worked in French parishes of the diocese. Indeed, the location of these Sisters and Brothers and priests tell us where the French-Canadians located in large numbers. Lewiston, one will notice, attracted many of these religious and this city is a good example of the sudden growth of the French-Canadians in a Maine community. In the fall of 1871, when Father Peter Hevey was assigned to St. Peter and Paul's the parish was only a year old. Prior to that all Catholics of Lewiston were members of St. Joseph's parish where a curate was assigned to care for the French-speaking parishioners. Hevey found only a handful of them attending an abandoned Catholic chapel which served as the church of the new parish, although it is estimated that there were more than a thousand French-Canadians in Lewiston. Within ten years he had a parish of 5,000. The Dominicans were invited to take charge of this large parish in 1881 and it became the model parish, with the Daughters of Sion educating the young girls, the Marist Brothers the young boys, and the Sisters of Charity conducting a hospital and orphanage. And, as we have noted, the Notre Dame Sisters had schools in the parish of St. Joseph's and St. Patrick's. The strength, the vitality, the variety of Catholic life could not escape the observing eyes of natives living in or visiting Lewiston.

It was under Healy, too, and again with the support of the French-Canadians that the Catholics of Maine finally realized their dreams of a Catholic college. It was fitting that this college was established in the same town where the Holy Cross Fathers had planned their abortive college and not too far from the town where Bishop Fenwick had long ago started his Holy Cross. The Marist Fathers were selected to open the college and in preparation for this task they were given charge of St. Bruno's parish in Van Buren in 1884. This town was in fact the second choice as the site of a college. Frenchville, a more central location for the Madawaskans, was first desired, but the pastor there was unwilling to cede the parish to the Marists. When Father John Richer, pastor of St. Bruno's, agreed to accept another parish, Van Buren became the site of St. Mary's College. In 1886 the college, with both classical courses leading to the A.B. degree and commercial courses, welcomed its first students.

St. Mary's was not, despite its location, intended exclusively for the French-Canadians. It did draw in large part from the Madawaska area and the student body was predominantly French, but a survey of both the faculty and the student rolls make it clear that Bishop Healy hoped that the classroom and the campus would be the means by which the bonds of a common faith would unify the children of the French-Canadians and the Irish immigrants. The presence of Irish names on the faculty and in administrative posts was no accident. Father Lawrence Fahey was a member of the first faculty, Father Thomas Maher taught there from 1888 to 1912, and Father John

Collins (1898-1901) and Father J. Dunne (1902-1905) were presidents of the college. Since Boston College and Holy Cross were well established institutions by this time, St. Mary's did not attract many from the other New England states. New Brunswick became the best recruiting area outside of Maine. And the roster of students always carried a core of Celtic names such as Costigan, Cunningham, Curran, Doyle, Duggan, Donovan, Fahey, Foley, Kelleher, Mahoney, Murphy, McLaughlin, O'Donnell, O'Connell, Reilly and Ryan. One of their students, John B. Peterson, became the fourth bishop of Manchester, and another, George P. Johnson, the present Vicar-General of the diocese of Portland; other graduates moved into education, law, medicine and politics to give the Catholics of Maine an educated laity and respected leaders.[1]

Yet, we might note in passing, the first Catholic native of Maine to be elected governor of a New England state did not attend college and had little formal education. Emery J. San Souci, born of French-Canadian parents in Saco on July 24, 1857, a few years after Bishop Bacon was installed, has that distinction. After serving two terms as lieutenant-governor, he was elected governor of Rhode Island in 1920 by the largest plurality a candidate had received in this state and thereby became the first Franco-American to be elected a New England governor. He was not, however, the first Catholic, for he had in his rise to political office been befriended by Aram Pothier, a native of Quebec, who had preceded and followed San Souci in the office of governor. When Pothier was first elected in 1908 (he was elected five times and died in office) New England Catholics had their first elected governor.

At the end of the century the Catholic Church in Maine was healthy, strong, and promising. Washington Gladden had correctly observed the influence of the Catholic Church on family life but it is doubtful if he appreciated how much this family life was fostered by the generous services of the fourteen groups of religious women and men who were laboring in the cities and towns of Maine at the century's end. And they were in Maine because the Irish and French-Canadian immigrants sought them for themselves and their children and because Bishop Healy brought them to their parishes. This was one of his major achievements.

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[1] In 1926 the college suspended classes and St. Mary's continued as a high school.

The division of the diocese and the invitation to the Marist Fathers to open a college in Maine mark the emergence of Bishop Healy as an influential figure in the New England hierarchy. The decision to have a college was a risky venture and one avoided by other New England bishops. There were at the time only two Catholic colleges in New England, Holy Cross in the Springfield diocese and Boston College in the Boston archdiocese. Healy's experiment was followed by his friend, Bishop Bradley, who invited the Benedictines to open St. Anselm's in 1893, a move that further limited the recruiting grounds for St. Mary's. But it was the appointment of Bradley as the first bishop of Manchester that indicated the influence of Healy in filling the new and vacant sees of the New England metropolitan. It is quite obvious that Williams and his suffragans accepted the suggestion of Healy for the Manchester diocese, and Rome did too. Perhaps it was not surprising that he had the decisive say in this instance. But when one looks back at the appointments of New England bishops during Healy's twenty-five years it looks as if he had an important voice in the selection of all of them. And the explanation for this influence is at hand: he was and he remained a trusted friend and adviser of Archbishop Williams who, as metropolitan, presided over the selection of candidates for his suffragan sees.

Healy's influence resulted in a unique situation. When in 1875 he was appointed bishop of Portland, the second alumnus of the college to be raised to the hierarchy, he was the only Holy Cross alumnus among the New England bishops.[1] Eighteen years later, when Holy Cross celebrated its golden jubilee, the original Boston diocese had become an archdiocese with six suffragan sees: Hartford, Burlington, Portland, Providence, Springfield, and Manchester. In five of these suffragan sees the bishop was a Holy Cross alumnus and in the sixth, Burlington, another Holy Cross alumnus was coadjutor bishop with the right of succession. Only Boston was without a Holy Cross alumnus.

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[1] Peter J. Baltes, a student with Healy, had been consecrated the second bishop of Alton (now Springfield), Illinois in 1870.

These consecration ceremonies became reunion affairs after a while. The first was in Hartford when Lawrence McMahon was consecrated May 8, 1879. He had been a student at Holy Cross at the time of the fire and his first assignment as a priest was as an assistant at the Boston cathedral in 1860 when Healy was Bishop Fitzpatrick's secretary and chancellor. Healy preached at McMahon's consecration; as he was now the Catholic orator of New England the new bishops sought him for the occasion. In 1884 he preached at Bradley's consecration. Three years later when his closest friend among the hierarchy, Matthew Harkins, was consecrated bishop of Providence, Bishop McMahon was one of the consecrators and Healy was in the pulpit.[1] Harkins, much younger than Healy, had attended Holy Cross during the Civil War, but his position as theological adviser to Williams at the Third Plenary Council and his post as pastor of St. James' in Boston, brought him in contact with Healy and they soon discovered that they enjoyed each other's company and ideas. They became frequent travelling companions.

One must not conclude from this that Healy was the bishop maker of New England. He was not. Archbishop Williams had the controlling voice in metropolitan affairs. But Williams respected his judgments and his preferences found support among the suffragans who approved of the list of candidates submitted to Rome for vacant sees. Four of the five suffragans were intimate friends: McMahon of Hartford, O'Reilly of

[1] Healy's health was poor in 1892 and he did not preach at the consecration of two other Holy Cross alumni raised to the episcopacy during this year: John S. Michaud, appointed coadjutor with the right of succession to the elderly Bishop de Goesbriand of Burlington and Thomas D. Beaven, named the successor of Patrick T. O'Reilly of Springfield. The latter's death was a shock to Healy, and the eulogy he preached at the funeral was a strain. Concerned about a possible sudden death, Healy revised his will and named an administrator of the diocese in 1892.

Springfield, Harkins of Providence, and Bradley of Manchester. One incident illustrates Healy's influence. In 1891 Archbishop Williams thought it was time to ask Rome for a coadjutor and he thought the one elected should have the right to succeed him. Healy's preference (Bishop Harkins) was not among those recommended to Rome, and it is quite obvious that he did not consider those on the list sufficiently qualified for the important office. He suggested that an auxiliary bishop be requested at this time; the suggestion was seconded by McMahon and O'Reilly and accepted by Williams. That decision postponed the problem of succession, a decision that cleared the way unintentionally for his own successor in Portland to become archbishop of Boston.

Bishop Healy's sphere of influence was restricted to New England. His attitudes and views on current social problems were more akin to the Corrigan-McQuaid group in the hierachy, although his friend, Bishop Harkins, was no admirer of the Bishop of Rochester. Healy did take a strong and vocal position on the Knights of Labor and his name is associated with the small minority of the bishops who approved of the action of the Canadian hierarchy and favored an explicit condemnation of the American Knights. Fortunately the saner view of Cardinal Gibbons prevailed. But Maine was no industrial state, the Knights there were a small group, and Healy had no first hand experience and acquaintance with the current labor problems. He was in no position to be a spokesman for labor problems, and his position on the Knights appears to have been dictated more by his over-cautious attitudes toward secret societies, another of the acute problems of this period, than any lack of sympathy for the struggling workers. Healy, however, could speak as an expert on one national problem and had the opportunity to do so. He did not use the opportunity; indeed, at times he avoided it. Had he done so he would have ranked among the great bishops of America. The problem, of course, was the American negro, and his opportunity was unique since he was the only member of the hierarchy of African ancestry and he knew from personal experiences the shame and sham of discrimination based on pigment of the skin.

At the Third Plenary Council at Baltimore in 1884 the hierarchy did consider and give directives on the negro problem. They could hardly do otherwise, since Pius IX had called their attention to the neglect of the negro by persuading Father Herbert Vaughan of England to dedicate his congregation, the St. Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions, to the task of evangelizing the emancipated slaves of the United States. The Council accepted the recommendations of the special subcommittee on Negroes and Indians, of which Bishop Healy was a member. Bishops, priests, and laity were alerted to this grave problem, and on the practical level bishops were urged to build churches for negros wherever possible and where this was not practical to provide a suitable place for the negro in the parish church. It was an acceptance of the system of segregation that was devised outside the council chambers.

A strong voice would not have altered the accepted system but it would have corrected, if sufficiently repeated, the conscience of American Catholics and would have disturbed the conscience of the nation. Bishop Augustin Verot, S.S., of St. Augustine, wanted the Vatican Council to correct the consciences of Catholics on the evils of racism. He was a witness of these evils and he had urged the council to consider and to condemn the theories contrary to the unity of the human race and asked for explicit condemnation of the racist errors widespread in America and elsewhere. He was dead when the Third Plenary Council convened at Baltimore. It was the golden opportunity for James A. Healy. It can not be said that he accepted it then or thereafter. He did prohibit segregation within his diocese, but there were only a handful of colored Catholics in Maine, about three hundred.

Outside his diocese he avoided association with Catholic Negro organizations and declined to encourage their efforts to establish a national organization. A Congress of Colored Catholics was held in Washington in 1889, in Cincinnati in 1890, and in Philadelphia two years later. After these three futile attempts the project was abandoned. Although Cardinal Gibbons presided and spoke at the first one and the Archbishops of Cincinnati and Philadelphia sponsored the other two, Bishop Healy declined invitations to address them. Once he expressed his doubts about conventions held along strictly racial lines. It was not a compelling reason; they could not hold conventions on any other lines, and there was not any opposition to the French, the Germans and the Irish having their national organizations and conventions along rigid "racial" lines. Indeed, the Catholic European immigrants had conditioned the American Catholic to accept without question the segregation system. They had demanded a type of segregation for themselves, thereby isolating themselves from the other Catholics of their communities by their own national parishes, their own societies, their own congresses and conventions.

As Bishop Healy neared the end of his life he must have realized that the significance of his career had escaped American Catholics. That significance was writ large for all to see: a young man of partial Negro descent, born legally a slave, the first graduate of the first Catholic college of New England, friend and confidant of Bishop Fitzpatrick and Archbishop Williams, repected pastor of the largest Irish parish in Boston, raised to the rank of a bishop by Rome. Every phase of his career was an open denial of any inferiority on the score of blood. It was so obvious that it is possible Bishop Healy declined to push the point himself. The evidence, however, inclines one to conclude that Bishop Healy wanted his racial ancestry forgotten. A biography was discouraged, for that would entail search of the family records; the information he supplied editors of the standard biographical works of his day either omitted reference to his parents or merely listed them as Michael M. and Eliza (Clark) Healy, or he referred to his mother as the scion of an aristocratic family or from Santo Domingo. By the time he died Catholics had forgotten the significance of his career. An event that took place in a parish not far from his alma mater three years after his death underscored how much Catholics had forgotten the lesson of his career. A total abstinence society was established in this parish whereby worthy men could by mutual assistance avoid the dangers of modern drinking. A constitution was framed. The second article restricted membership to "white Catholics." Bishop Healy and his brothers would have been excluded from this Catholic parish society.

Yet Bishop Healy did not avoid coming to grips with a public issue when it involved discrimination against the Catholics of his diocese, and his long struggle to modify the policy of the Maine State Reform School for Catholic inmates is a good example of this. Public abuse and odium did not alter his course. The regulation of state penal and charitable institutions in New England during the last quarter of the nineteenth century had derived from the period when Catholics were not a factor in drafting legislation: the chaplains were Protestants, the religious services were legally non-sectarian, and attendance by all inmates was compulsory on the score of discipline. This was obviously unfair to Catholics who in the course of events became inmates of these institutions. Healy was pastor of St. James' when the first successful step to modify this policy in Massachusetts was achieved; in the summer of 1874 Catholic inmates of Boston's municipal institutions were allowed regular Catholic services and a law regulating state penal institutions was enacted during the next year extending this freedom to state penal institutions. But even so, Catholics could be forced, if the institutional authorities so decided, to attend the non-Catholic services. Not until 1879 was this regulation extended to state charitable and reformatory institutions and again with the proviso that the local authority could compel attendance of all inmates at a general religious instructions program, if discipline so demanded. It frequently was found necessary. Not until 1883 were Catholics declared immune from this compulsion. Slowly and reluctantly did the elders of Massachusetts allow tampering with their traditional methods. In Maine, as Bishop Healy discovered, the reluctance was more trenchant.

In Maine the attempt to undermine state institutions (as it appeared to many of the natives) centered on the Maine State Reform School. In 1879, the year that both penal and charitable institutions in Massachusetts were opened to Catholic priests to attend to the religious needs of the Catholic inmates, permission was granted for a Mass every month in the Reform School. This concession followed the appointment of Charles McCarthy, Jr. as one of the trustees of the institution, and the appointment of McCarthy followed one of those curious events in Maine's political history: the election of a Democratic governor. At that, Alonzo Garcelon was an ex-Republican who had found the Republican Reconstruction policy more than he could take. With the help of the Greenback Party the popular vote was so divided that no candidate had a majority and the election was decided by the legislature and in favor of Garcelon. McCarthy did not want the post as is clear from his correspondence. But it set a precedent for other governors to follow, and this could be safely done for one Catholic on the board was no threat to the traditional policy. The concession, too, was soon negated. Non-Catholics were compelled to attend the Mass; one superintendent insisted on overhearing the confessions of the inmates. In protest Healy refused to allow a priest to visit the institution.

He brought the issue of the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the state constitution to the legislature, to the governor, to the public. In the 1890's with the revival of anti-Catholic groups this proved to be fine grist for their mills. A section of the press gave Healy a great deal of personal attention during the eve of his life; it is doubtful that he read much of it and it is certain it did not persuade him to abandon his objective. And in the end he won the admiration of many as well as his objective. Late in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as Healy was declining in health and nearing the end of his episcopacy, the priest returned to the Reform School to minister to the Catholic inmates.

4. THE END OF A USEFUL LIFE

Bishop Healy died Sunday, August 5, 1900. His last years had been pleasant; in June of 1899 he was back at Holy Cross celebrating the golden jubilee of his graduation and reminiscing about Father George Fenwick and Father James Moore. At the time of his graduation he had written in his diary: "Today five years ago I entered this college. What a change! Then I was nothing; now I am a Catholic." Now it was fifty-five years, and what happened since his graduation was beyond his fondest dreams. A year later, June 5, 1900, he celebrated the silver jubilee of his consecration; more warming than the expected tributes was the companionship on this occasion of his good friends: Archbishop Williams, Bishop Harkins, Bishop Bradley, Bishop Beaven, Bishop Michaud. To the end he remained a traveller in and out of his diocese: Europe, Rome, the Holy Land, the West coast, Canada. He knew many places well, — except the South. The past week he had visited Canada.

He was seventy years old, and though his health was failing his death was unexpected. From the entry in Charles McCarthy's diary one can see how the end came after a busy week and how it caught the Catholics of Maine by surprise:

> Sunday, Aug't 5, 1900 Bishop Healey [sic] died at 1 o'clock today. His death was sudden & unexpected. He spent most of the week in Montreal. Returned home Friday & went to Biddeford Saturday and returned home in the evening feeling tired and rather unwell but not enough so to cause any uneasiness to the priests or others in the house. Sunday morning he attempted to get up and say Mass but found he was not equal to it and was obliged to go back to bed. He died at 1 o'clock.

But death had not caught the bishop by surprise. Nearly ten years before he had provided for an administrator and the details of his funeral. It would be a simple funeral: a coffin of plain and durable wood covered with a plain black cloak, vestments of the plainest description, on his breast the little catechism from which he had, with God's help, learned the Catholic faith while at college, in his hands the small crucifix he had acquired at Mount St. James, by his side the Papal Brief; there was to be no eulogy.

His death dampened the holiday atmosphere of the city, for it was Old Home Week in Portland; the city was full of strangers; the better homes were decorated; the North Atlantic squadron was in the harbor. The bishop's body was moved from the residence to the cathedral on Wednesday. The funeral Mass was on Thursday. Hundreds were unable to gain admittance to the cathedral. The front pews were reserved for the Sisters: Notre Dame, Ursulines, Grey Nuns, Daughters, and Sisters of Mercy. There were seats reserved for and occupied by the ministers of the city's churches.

He had asked that there be no eulogy. The newspapers did not consider themselves bound by this request and one will find the eulogies in their columns. The Boston *Pilot* expressed the feelings of New England Catholics. Three columns on the first page with a picture that was a good likeness reviewed the salient features of his life and his work as a bishop. He was a humble man, the readers were told, — "humble, considerate, generous, minutely hospitable and nobly courteous, beloved of God and man, [and] long will it be till his like is seen again." The *Portland Press* bespoke the mind of many in Maine who were not of his religious faith and on occasions differed with him: "he has been a power for good in this community, a citizen whom the people of Maine respected, admired and loved . . . Maine has lost one of its noblest men . . . "

His request to be buried in a lot facing the chapel in Calvary Cemetery was respected, and a beautiful monument, erected by the contributions of the children of the diocese, marks his grave.

Statistics for the Diocese of Portland: 1900

RECAPITULATION[1]

Bishop	1
Secular Priests	76
Priests of Religious Orders	16
Total	92
Churches with resident priest	54
Missions with Churches	32
Total Churches	86
Stations	79
Chapels	23
Brothers (incl. novices and postulants)	8
Religious Women (incl. novices and postulants)	353
Students for diocese	13
Colleges and Academies for boys	1
Students	98
Academies for young ladies	3
Females educated in higher branches	200
Parishes with Parochial Schools	20
Pupils	7819
Schools for Indians	3
Pupils	169
Orphanage Schools	2
Pupils	150
Orphan Asylums	3
Orphans (incl. 5 Infants)	275
Total of young people under Catholic care	8203
Hospitals	2
Houses for Aged Women	1
Inmates	40
Catholic Population, about	96,400

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[1] *The Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List* for . . .1900 (Milwaukee, M. H. Wiltzius, 1900) p. 453.

7

SOME MAINE CONVERTS

IN THE annals of the Sisters of Mercy we are told that if one good work of the Manchester convent had to be singled out of the many it would be "the immense number of non-Catholics received into the Church within its walls." The Sisters had hardly settled in their new convent in this city when two women, one married and a Baptist, the other single and a Universalist, sought instructions about the Catholic faith and were received into the Church. Soon instruction classes were introduced and prospered, and it was not unusual for the bishop to confer three sacraments on a group of converts during a visit to Manchester. Some of these converts were prominent locally, others could not be found in the city's social register. But the conversion of the better known and of the unknown to the Catholic faith was something strange and alarming to the Yankees of New Hampshire, and all the more disturbing because, as far as one could see, it was work of a few women whose goodness and good works could not be disputed. As the Sisters of Mercy established convents in the diocese of Portland, their influence and contact with the natives of Maine and New Hampshire increased, a better understanding of the Catholic faith grew, and more converts entered the Church. And the converts, in turn, gave the local Catholics added confidence and respect. It is well to recall some of these Maine converts.

Maine can not equal Vermont's remarkable group of converts who greatly aided Bishop de Goesbriand, gave a tone of respectability to the pioneer Catholics of this state, and shielded them from organized opposition. The immigrant Catholics took considerable pride in knowing that Fanny Allen, the daughter of the state's revolutionary hero, was a convert and died a nun, that William Tyler, the first bishop of Hartford, was born in Derby, Vermont, and became a Catholic when he was sixteen; that the great Orestes Brownson, whose conversion in 1844 startled the New England literary world, was a native of Stockbridge, and that in the middle of the nineteenth century Vermont had an Oxford movement of her own. William Henry Hoyt, one of Vermont's most respected Episcopalian ministers, was the leader of the group. He was a remarkable man and the growth of Catholicism in Vermont owes much to him; not only did his wife and family follow him but more than fifty persons, many of them of superior education and social prominence, could thank him for their conversion. There was Colonel Archibald Hyde, the assistant United States Collector of Customs, DeWitt C. Clarke, prominent in Vermont politics and business and proprietor of the Burlington *Free Press,* Abby Maria Hemenway, editor of The *Vermont Historical Gazetteer,* indispensable source on the state's local histories, and Julia C. Smalley, described as "the most gifted lady writer in the State." And the memories of these converts were kept alive by Bishop de Goesbriand who wrote the *Catholic Memoirs of Vermont and New Hampshire* and by Julia Smalley who wrote, at the bishop's urging, *Memoirs of Three Sisters,* sketches of the three Barlow sisters, daughters of Bradley Barlow, one of St. Alban's wealthiest and most respected citizens.

There was no such comparable group in Maine. But there were converts, as the *Annals* of the Sisters of Mercy have reminded us, who found new life in the nascent Catholic Church in Maine and who gave stability and respectability to the small groups of Catholics in the towns and villages of the state. Prior to the advent of the Sisters of Mercy, Father Bapst and his fellow Jesuits had received many into the Church, and before the Jesuits, Father Cheverus had done the same. The congregation of the first church built in Maine, St. Patrick's in Damariscotta, was, according to Bishop Cheverus, "mostly composed of converts" in 1808. Some of the converts born during the nineteenth century were highly interesting persons. In this chapter five of them are briefly described: a doctor who became a model Catholic lay leader; a printer who became the first native of Maine raised to the hierarchy; a young lady who became the outstanding Catholic novelist of the century; a young man who had a remarkable career as a journalist and short story writer, and another young man who became prominent as a Paulist.

1. DR. HENRY BOWEN CLARK GREENE

Our readers were introduced to Dr. Henry B. C. Greene in the chapter on Bishop Benedict Fenwick. When the bishop made his first episcopal visit to Maine in the summer of 1827 he selected the communities along the coast where a Catholic church was needed. The town of Saco was one of them. The decision for a church in this town was based more on prospects than on current demands. An industry was attracting Irish immigrants and the bishop was attracted by two young and recent converts to the Catholic faith: Greene and his friend Jonathan Tucker. The industry did not prosper and the church was not built, but Bishop Fenwick had found what he needed badly: an able and educated Catholic lay leader.

Greene was born on April 3, 1800 in South Berwick, a town in southern Maine. He could trace, we are told, his American ancestry to a companion of Roger Williams. After attending South Berwick Academy, Henry Greene went to Harvard, graduated when he was nineteen, remained to study medicine, and then opened his office in Saco where he soon acquired a reputation as a learned and skillful doctor. He also found his wife in Saco, Elizabeth Hartley, and they were married in 1823. A serious illness occasioned a serious reading of the Bible, and the reading led to a studious inquiry into the claims of the Christian churches. He was a Congregationalist, but tending, as many of them were at this time, towards the position of the Unitarians. He chanced to hear a sermon by Bishop Cheverus and was impressed by the content of the sermon and the manner of the preacher. When Cheverus returned to France, Greene started to correspond with Father William Taylor, administrator of the Boston diocese during the vacancy. Taylor settled his doubts and late in 1824 he entered the Catholic Church.

His correspondence with Taylor, commencing May 9, 1824 and ending November 29, 1825, has fortunately survived and remains by far our best source of information on this remarkable person.[1] Greene had never met Taylor when he first wrote him; he was, as he writes, "an utter stranger." But he was compelled by "a desire, which is unconquerable, to make some inquiries with regard to the Catholic faith." At this time there was but one resident priest in Maine, Father Dennis Ryan at Whitefield, but Greene did not have any personal acquaintance with him. His acquaintance with Catholic priests was scant. He had, however, as he says in his first letter, heard Bishop Cheverus preach while he was still a student at Harvard and was so impressed that he had concluded that the religion this man professed could not be corrupt in principles. It is doubtful if his acqaintance with Catholic clergy extended beyond this, but he would know that Father Taylor was a friend of the departed bishop. He frankly stated to Taylor his religious position: "I revere my Maker and respect his word as given in the Scriptures, but am left in doubt to which of the denominations of those calling themselves Christians

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[1] This correspondence will be found in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine,* III (1900), 369-391. The letters are prefaced by some biographical data and a note by the Rev. J. M. Finotti. He probably edited the letters. We have followed the generally accepted arrangement and spelling, and not Henry Clark Bowen Green, as in this article.

I could conscientiously attach myself, were I worthy." He asked for instructions.

He was delighted when Taylor's letter arrived. He had feared that "you would not be inclined to notice a communication from one of whom you knew nothing, and who if you did, would probably have no particular claim to your attention." Taylor sent him a few books. They were delivered, as were some of the letters exchanged between the two, by a Captain Hartley, and we may assume that he was a relative, probably the father, of Mrs. Greene. The letters give us the names of some of the books that helped to settle Greene's doubts and they should be respectfully recalled. The first was Milner's *The End of Religious Controversy,* a work that should have an honored place in Catholic libraries for its many years of service in buttressing the faith of American Catholics and settling doubts of inquiring Protestants. Other books and authors mentioned in these letters are Bossuet, the Douay Bible, and Pastorini; the latter was the pen name for Bishop Charles Walmesley, O.S.B. (who had consecrated John Carroll, first American bishop) and his book *The General History of the Christian Church* was another familiar pilot of this period.

When Taylor allowed a week to pass without answering a letter Greene was ready to conclude the correspondence had been ended, yet he wrote again and confessed that his sole remaining doubt centered on the mystery of the Eucharist. He was relieved to learn that only "professional drudgery" had prevented Taylor from writing. Late in 1824, at the end of November or early in December, Greene went to Boston, all his doubts removed, and made his profession of faith. We have his letter to Taylor written after his return to Saco and dated December 8. He had found his:

> family and friends in good health, but found my professional and domestic concerns requiring so much of my attention, as to prevent, until now, the performance of my agreeable task of addressing you. . . . I have the happiness to find, that although the important step which I have taken and which has now become necessarily public, has excited the surprise of many and perhaps the vexation of some,

> yet that most of my dearest friends look upon it without any feelings of horror, and those whose opinions I value most, without scarcely those of disapprobation [sic].

That the townfolk of Saco accepted the conversion of Greene so well is a tribute to the man; they must have had deep respect for him. One of his friends was impressed by his decision and we soon find him consulting Father Taylor. Taylor received a young man with a letter from Greene introducing Jonathan Tucker, Jr., "a merchant of this town, who is a very much esteemed friend of mine" and is interested in Catholicism. Soon Tucker was a Catholic. It seems that Mrs. Greene and the children also were converted. Taylor sent a copy of the Douay Bible to "the dear Mrs. Greene and yourself" in the spring of 1825, and a week later he asked Father Ryan to pay the Greenes and Tucker a visit on his way to Whitefield. Quite probably Ryan offered Mass in the doctor's home during this visit. The last letter in this exchange between doctor and priest is from Taylor. Writing on November 29, 1825, he tells his friend that he is awaiting the arrival of Bishop Fenwick (Taylor's expectations of this appointment had been so high in the previous spring that he had told Greene he would very probably "reside permanently in Boston") and then would go to France, regretting exceedingly that he would not see the doctor and his wife and friends before departure.

When Bishop Fenwick's plans for a Catholic community in Saco failed to materialize, Dr. Greene moved to Boston with his family where they could enjoy a full Catholic life. His departure was a severe loss to Maine's struggling Catholics, but his talents were better employed in Boston. Greene was a young man, only forty-eight, when he died, but for nineteen years he was the fine example of the Catholic lay leader in Boston. Besides his influence as a Catholic physician, he was busy and popular as a lecturer, a social worker, a pioneer in Catholic journalism, and was the first Catholic elected to the Massachusetts General Court.

He was one of the first lecturers sponsored by the Young

Catholic Friends' Society. This group had been organized by Fenwick in the spring of 1835 to provide relief for needy Catholic children of the city and to arrange for their attendance at Sunday school, but teaching Christian doctrine soon became one of its primary functions. The society became so successful it developed into the model parish organization of the diocese during the pre-Civil War years and was borrowed by other bishops for their dioceses. When monthly assessments on members and public appeals proved an insufficient source of income to carry on their work, the society sponsored a series of annual lectures, and for many years these lectures, by Catholics and non-Catholics, became the signal cultural event among Boston Catholics. A notice in George Pepper's *The Emerald Isle* for January 5, 1837 announced that Dr. Greene would deliver a course of lectures every Monday and Tuesday evenings on Physiology at Chauncey Hall to the Young Catholic Friends' Society. He was, the readers were told, a fluent, eloquent lecturer, "as his previous reputation has amply evidenced."

In 1840 Greene pioneered in Catholic juvenile journalism by accepting the post of editor for *The Young Catholics' Friend,* a weekly that Philip A. Kirk planned to publish. The title is so similar to the name of the diocesan society that one suspects that the periodical was intended as another medium of advancing its work. The first issue of the weekly appeared on Wednesday, May 6, 1840, a four page publication that promised its readers instructive essays on the practice of the Catholic religion, selections from important works on the history and doctrine of the Church, and news about the Church at home and abroad. Its objective was obviously to instruct rather than entertain its readers; I suppose the section assigned to poetry was a concession to the demands for light entertainment. The weekly did not long survive, but that is not surprising; few periodicals in these decades were that fortunate. It probably suspended with the issue of December

26, 1840, the last issue in the most complete files of the weekly extant and in the possession of the Library of the Boston Athenaeum. Dr. Greene had retired from his editorial post before that date. Henry Hart took over with the issue of November 14 and remained for a month. The weekly appeared on December 19 and the following week without an acknowledged editor. That was a good sign that it was nearing its end. Despite its brief existence Greene and Kirk must be credited with a laudable pioneering effort in Catholic journalism.

It could well be that Greene was compelled to abandon his editorial charge because of the pressure of work. He had his medical practice to keep him busy, and in the fall of 1840 he was elected to the General Court. He was the first Catholic elected to the Massachusetts legislature and served four consecutive terms. Each year the legislature was asked to compensate the Ursuline Nuns for the mob destruction of their Charlestown convent, a move supported by leading non-Catholics. All efforts were a failure.

In 1848 Dr. Greene died in the prime of life and Bishop Fitzpatrick was deprived of a stout champion of the faith. During the nineteen years he was a Catholic he was ever the "leader in every Catholic good work."

The growth of Catholicism in Saco was unaccountably retarded, as if the departure of Dr. Greene were a mortal blow to the once promising prospects. Saco never became a mission with a church of its own. Up to the year 1915, when there were more than a thousand Catholics in the town, they had to cross the Saco River to attend Mass and receive the sacraments in Biddeford. The next year the Holy Trinity parish was established and a movie theatre was purchased for a parish church. On June 18, 1916, the first Mass was offered in this church. If the historian of the parish is correct, this was the first Mass offered in Saco since the one offered by Bishop Fenwick in the home of Dr. Greene on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1827.

2. JOSUE MARIA YOUNG

On July 29, 1853, the same day the diocese of Portland was established, the diocese of Pittsburg was divided and a new diocese with Erie as its see was erected. Bishop Michael O'Connor, the first bishop of Pittsburg, was transferred to Erie, and Father Josue M. Young, pastor of St. Mary's in Lancaster, Ohio, was named as O'Connor's successor. The Catholics of Pittsburg, naturally inquisitive about the origins of their new bishop, discovered that he was a convert, a Yankee from a town in Maine that one had difficulty in locating even on a county map: Shapleigh. Did Rome consider him as the first bishop of Portland? It seems unlikely. But it would have added a unique page to the history of the diocese and the state if Josue M. Young of Shapleigh had returned after almost a quarter of a century as the first Catholic bishop of Portland, Maine.

Young's career was more spectacular than Dr. Greene's. He was born October 29, 1808, in the sprawling town of Shapleigh, located in southern Maine, near the New Hampshire border, about twenty miles west of Saco. The township has since been divided, and his birthplace is now in Acton. One of ten children, he was named Josue Moody, a reminder that he was a descendant on his mother's side of one of New England's oldest and respected families, prolific in distinguished divines and educators, that started with the arrival of William Moody in 1634. His father, Jonathan Young, was a graduate of Harvard. Josue, however, was a self-educated man; it was well he was, for had he, too, gone to Harvard or to a Maine college it is quite unlikely that he would have met the person who decisively changed his life.

When eight years old Josue was sent to live with his maternal uncle, Samuel Moody, in Saco. There he continued his schooling, helped his uncle in the bakery, and was baptized as a Congregationalist. When he was fifteen, about the time that Dr. Greene of Saco was investigating the Catholic religion, Josue became an apprentice in the office of the Portland *Eastern Argus* and there he learned the printer's trade. There, too, he met John Crease, a printer and, as he soon learned, a Catholic. Much time was spent in arguing about religion and Crease had a busy time defending and explaining his religion. This he could do because he was the leader of the few Catholics in Portland who were still without a resident priest and a church; he presided at the Sunday meetings and read the prayers of the Mass as directed years ago by Bishop Cheverus. Young was impressed by Crease and arguments gave way to questions and discussions and in time to the reading of books supplied by Crease. When Bishop Fenwick made his first episcopal visit to Maine and came to Portland, Crease introduced Young to the bishop and the next year, when Father Ffrench made Portland his headquarters, Young became acquainted with this learned priest. By then Young had returned to Saco to publish the *Maine Democrat* which had started early in January of 1828. Saco was his second home and not far from Portland, and he had no doubt returned while at the *Argus* to visit his uncle. We do not know whether the two ever met, but Greene's conversion could not have escaped him. When he returned to publish the Saco paper, Greene had gone or was about to move to Boston, and Young himself was ready to become a Catholic. In the fall of 1828, probably in November, he was conditionally baptized by Father Ffrench. He immediately became, with his friend Crease, a lay leader among the Catholics. To mark the important change in his life he took the name of Maria and thereafter was known as Josue Maria Young.

Another turning point in his life came in 1830. His health was far from robust and he was advised to seek a more friendly climate. He did so, carrying with him an introduction from Bishop Benedict Fenwick to Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis and Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati. John Crease joined him, for these two had now become inseparable friends. Their departure was a severe loss to Bishop Fenwick and to the

Catholics of Portland and the nearby towns. Young had already become a zealous missionary, and one gathers how effective he was by his influence on his brothers and sisters. All but one became Catholics and the exception, a sister, married a Catholic. One of his brothers, Edmund, became a Jesuit. Young and Crease became wandering journeymen printers, working their way through Kentucky and then to Ohio. They finally decided to settle in Cincinnati. Bishop Fenwick was indeed fortunate; he had been given a press and in October of 1831 had started the *Catholic Telegram*, one of the pioneer Catholic weeklies, and now a first rate printer was at his service. Young combined printing and catechical work.

When Fenwick died September 26, 1832, a victim of cholera, his successor, Bishop John Baptist Purcell, saw more than a good printer in the displaced Yankee; he saw a better priest. At the bishop's urging Young entered Mount St. Mary's to complete his studies and to prepare for the priesthood. As he was about to leave the Mount for his ordination in Cincinnati he learned that a Portland lad, James Landers, had decided to study for the priesthood at the Mount rather than in Montreal. Young no doubt knew the lad's father, John Landers, a prominent Catholic in Portland and a friend of Crease, and he recommended the young man highly to Father John McCaffrey, the rector of the seminary, and arranged for a reduction of expenses. A week after his arrival, on April 19, 1838, James wrote his father that, due to Mr. Young's intercession, "I was admitted for much less" than the prescribed expense of $200. James, however, did not become Portland's first priest. A year later Father McCaffrey sadly told his father that his promising son was suffering from a severe heart condition, consequent to an attack of "inflammatory rheumatism." They feared for his life, and his disappearance from the records would indicate that the illness was fatal.

Young was ordained by Purcell in the Cincinnati cathedral on April 1, 1838. He was now thirty years old and had lost little of his Yankee character and manners: somewhat stern and determined, full of energy, a strong advocate of temperance, but a zealous and devoted priest who won the affection of others. In a way he returned to his wanderings, for he was appointed a diocesan missionary; then he was appointed pastor of St. Mary's, Lancaster, Ohio.

Bishop Purcell advocated his elevation to the episcopacy. At the First Plenary Council in 1852 many new dioceses were requested of Rome and they were established by Pius IX the following year. Among the new dioceses was that of Erie, a division of the Pittsburg diocese requested by Bishop O'Connor, and he also requested that he be transferred to the new and smaller diocese of Erie on the score of declining health. Father Young was appointed O'Connor's successor.

Father Young, however, was never consecrated Bishop of Pittsburg. He declined the appointment. One factor in his decision was the reaction of the clergy and laity to the loss of Bishop O'Connor; they were displeased with his removal and petitioned Rome to restore him to the diocese. O'Connor had gone to Erie in the middle of October without any advance notice and discovered there was no room available for him in the two parish rectories and no house could be rented; he took a room in a hotel for the winter. In the second week of December Archbishop Cajetan Bedini, the papal nuncio, visited Pittsburg and presumably discussed the situation with Monsignor E. McMahon, the administrator. Usually petitions of this nature to Rome do not proceed far after their reception, but in this case it was apparently successful. It is admitted that "the reluctance of Father Young to accept the mitre of Pittsburg seconded their petition, and induced the Holy See to grant their request." It would be more accurate to say that Young's position was the decisive factor. Rome was having some difficulty in finding priests willing to accept the burdens of the episcopacy. Monsignor Coskery had declined the appointment to Portland, and now Young was unwilling to accept the see of Pittsburg. But it does seem that much of Young's reluctance derived from the reaction of both the clergy and laity to the loss of Bishop O'Connor. The problem was solved by restoring him to Pittsburg and appointing Young to Erie.

The two bishops, O'Connor and Young, did not allow the impasse to interfere with their cordial relations, and the Bishop of Pittsburg preached at Young's consecration in the Cincinnati cathedral on April 23, 1854. Acting as Young's chaplain at the ceremony was a newly ordained priest, Sylvester Horton Rosencrans; he, too, was a convert who had become interested in the credentials of the Catholic religion on learning that his brother William Strake Rosencrans, later General Rosencrans, had become a Catholic. The young priest in time became a bishop, first as auxiliary to Archbishop Purcell, who consecrated Young, and then Bishop of Columbus.

Bishop Young was installed May 7. There is no doubt he had the poorer of the two dioceses. St. Patrick's church which had been designated the pro-cathedral was in poor shape; how poor Bishop Young discovered at the installation ceremony when the gallery collasped and fatally injured a woman. The division strongly favored the Pittsburg diocese. The data in the *Catholic Directory* for 1855 briefly but clearly give the differences. Pittsburg had retained fifteen of the twenty-eight counties and sixty-six churches and sixty-three priests for the 45,000 Catholics in the dioceses. In Erie there were thirty-two churches, seventeen priests, 15,000 Catholics. The burden of building up the diocese to serve the scattered Catholics was slow and laborious and a challenge to the bishop's strong strain of Yankee enterprise. The figures for the year 1867, as found in the *Catholic Directory*, are a testimony to his patience and his zeal; there were now fifty churches and three were under construction; the twenty-eight diocesan priests were assisted by seven Benedictines; two groups of Sisters, the Benedictines and the St. Joseph's, were educating the Catholic youth in four parish schools and five academies for girls. The estimate on the Catholic population printed in the directory (the information was supplied by the administrator after the bishop's death) is clearly wrong: "about 12,000." This would mean a decline from 15,000 in 1855, and any loss due to the Civil War and the post-war migrations were more than compensated for by the influx of workers with the discovery of oil at Oil Creek in the summer of 1859. There were about 30,000; the population had doubled during Young's twelve years as bishop.

There is a lack of available correspondence and personal memoirs to give a sketch of this remarkable Maine convert the personal touches that would bring him alive. Obituary notices describe him as a gifted and holy prelate, earnest, energetic, zealous, devoted; to the end he remained a stout champion of temperence and retained much of the Yankee exterior and mannerisms he had borrowed from his parents. In the field of temperence he was not without success; when he died there was a Catholic temperence society with 120 members in Corry, another with 180 members in Titusville, and a third in Erie with 500 members. We are told he returned to Maine both as a priest and a bishop. He received a cold welcome from his relatives in a visit to his home town, but he could hardly have expected the welcome of a prodigal son; even today there is no Catholic church in Shapleigh nor in Acton. And there were his brothers and sister to receive him with affection. An incident that took place during a visit to Portland when he was a bishop tells us how friendly and whimsical he could be. He had never forgotten the office of the *Eastern Argus* where an external grace in the person of John Crease had altered his life. He paid a visit to the paper and to show that he was still an old hand at the press he set the type for a news item. The readers were told this particular news item had been set in type by one who had years ago been an apprentice at the *Argus* and was now the Bishop of Erie and was paying a visit to Portland. We do not know if his friend John Crease was still living in Portland. Unfortunately the sources on him are meagre. But he was back in Portland in 1846, and between his arrival in Cincinnati with Young and this year he evidently had lived and become friendly with the Maryland Jesuits. Our information is from a letter of Father John Power, S.J., to John Landers of Portland. Power had spent some time in Portland as pastor, and after his departure wrote (February 18, 1846) to thank Landers for his many kindnesses: "I am not forgetful of your kindness and the kindness of the good congregation of Portland to me during my incumbency among you, . . . " He asked to be remembered to all and, he added, "tell Mr. John Crease that Father Dzierozynski [Provincial of the Jesuits] and all the Fathers of our society desire to be kindly remembered to him." If Crease were in Portland during either of Young's visits, we can be sure they had a long reunion.

Bishop Young died suddenly on September 18, 1866, from a heart attack. He had known about the heart condition but had retained a busy schedule. He had said his Mass at the usual early hour that day and had made several calls in the afternoon. Like a good Yankee he started for the post-office to get his daily mail. He had not walked far when the attack came. He managed to return to his room, called for the other priest in the house, and died shortly after receiving the last sacraments. He was fifty-eight years old. He had been a Catholic for thirty-eight years. Shapleigh, Maine had given the Catholic Church in America a courageous Catholic and a valiant prelate.

In the fall of 1916, fifty years after the death of Bishop Young, Bishop Louis Walsh visited Springvale, a town near Shapleigh, to observe the progress of the church and school under construction. He was pleased with what he saw. Soon Springvale would be a new parish and the pastor of Notre Dame church would have Shapleigh, Acton and Lebanon as missions. Slowly the Catholic Church was moving towards Shapleigh. Bishop Walsh had a deep knowledge and love of Maine's Catholic past, and from the start of episcopacy in 1906 he had impressed on Catholics and non-Catholics the wealth of this heritage by elaborate celebrations of anniversaries. It comes with some surprise to learn that somehow the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Maine's first native bishop had escaped him. The founding of the parish of Notre Dame with Shapleigh and Acton as its missions would have been a fitting occasion to remind the Catholics of Maine of the life and labors of Bishop Young. Due honor to this man will be paid, we trust, in 1966, the centenary of his death.

3. MARY AGNES TINCKER

Mary Agnes Tincker was one of the young ladies of Ellsworth who were converted to the Catholic faith by Father John Bapst's Sunday afternoon lectures on Catholic doctrine and she became by far the best known of this group of converts. The conversions were, we may recall, resented by some in the town and contributed to the ugly situation that ended with an attack on the person of Father Bapst. She became the best American Catholic novelist of the late nineteenth century, and even though she has become quite forgotten her first book, *The House of Yorke,* can not be ignored. It is a historical romance based on Bapst's experience in Ellsworth. Since she herself was a witness of these events the volume is autobiographical in part and will ever remain a primary source on the Ellsworth affair.

Tincker was born on July 18, 1833 in Ellsworth, a rough, bustling river town. Her parents, Richard and Mehitabel (Jellison) Tincker were well known in the town, and they gave their daughter a respectable education, first in the local public schools and then at Blue Hill Academy, located about twelve miles southwest of Ellsworth, on the eastern cape formed by the Penobscot and Union River Bay. From all accounts she was precocious. She was teaching in the local public schools at the age of thirteen and publishing anonymous contributions in the local newspapers and magazines when she was fifteen. She did not know it, of course, but when she was enjoying the first fruits of authorship a priest in exile from Switzerland arrived in New York who would change the course of her life. The long road that Father Bapst travelled to cross her path is a marvellous example of Divine Providence. How he arrived in Ellsworth in 1853 has already been narrated. Attendance at his lectures on Catholic doctrine led to her conversion. The conversion of Mary Tincker and her friends caused a furor in the town. We do not have any information on the others, but Miss Tincker was twenty years old, and since she qualified to be a public school teacher when she was in her teens we can assume she was sufficiently qualified to make an important decision on her religion when she was twenty. Very probably she was the school teacher hired by Bapst to teach in the chapel school when the Catholic children of Ellsworth withdrew from the public schools in protest against the enforced reading of the Protestant version of the Bible. The author of her biographical sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography* tells us that she "taught in a Roman Catholic parochial school," and the Ellsworth school was the only one in Maine during the 1850's. She became deeply involved in the Bapst affair; indeed, few in the town escaped involvement to some degree. She never forgot those disturbing events and they became the material for her first novel: *The House of Yorke.* In this story Colonel Jarvis, the stout Protestant protector of Bapst, refused to live thereafter in Ellsworth and he and his family moved to Boston. So did Mary Tincker; her brothers and sisters did, too, although we do not know whether they moved immediately after the event. But in her retirement and declining years she lived with them in Boston.

During the Civil War she served as a nurse, and after the war settled in Boston where she launched her literary career. She had become a "tall, stately, handsome woman," if we may borrow the description of one of her friends, "of perfect manners, reticent but gifted with biting speech, full of quiet humor, and most intense in her sympathies." It was her good fortune to find Father Bapst residing in Boston on her return.

The mission in Maine had been closed in the summer of 1859 and, after a year at Holy Cross, Bapst was appointed the first rector of Boston College on July 21, 1860. The plan to open the college had been deferred to meet the urgent need for a common seminary for the Jesuit Scholastics of the United States. So for three years he was rector and professor of moral theology at the seminary. Then, in the fall of 1863, the seminary was closed and the college opened. Bapst continued on as its first President and remained there until August, 1869.

Was Tincker in Boston March 30, 1865? She probably was, for poor health had forced her to abandon the volunteer nursing. And if she was in Boston she probably attended, at Bapst's invitation, a ceremony at the Immaculate Conception church on Harrison Avenue that day. That was another happy day for Father Bapst; he had instructed a young lady born in Portland and she was ready to enter the Church. On this day he baptized her. Angelique DeLande was twenty-two years old, only a few years older than Tincker was when converted by Bapst, and she was a writer, too. DeLande did not have Tincker's talent, but her poetry was strong and popular and her best work compared favorably with Adelaide Ann Proctor's. One of her poems, "*Growing Older*," will be found in *Poets of Maine* compiled (1888) by George Bancroft Griffith. But more admirable than her poetry was her holy life and the great work she did as a schoolteacher. Her decision to accept the ancient faith had cost her dearly and she gives us a hint of the deep pain that was hers in the verse she wrote on hearing of Bapst's death:

> Reared in a cold, half-hearted, joyless creed,
> My soul unsatisfied,
> I came to him, and told him all my need,
> And would not be denied.
>
> When every other door was closed in wrath,
> When Friendship's self grew cold,
> He led me up the rugged mountain path
> Into the sheltered fold.

Mary Agnes Tincker could sympathize with her during those first lonely weeks after the great decision was made, and it would be strange if Father Bapst did not bring these two wonderful converts together.

Mary Tincker's writings began to appear in *Harper's* and *Putnam's.* But the Ellsworth phase of her life still haunted her, and she was disturbed that the attack on Bapst had been distorted. She evidently talked about it with Bapst and there is a hint in the preface to *The House of Yorke* that she had tried to persude him to write his memoirs; she was the only one, she tells us, "both able and willing to tell the true facts in the case." But she would relate them in a historical romance, because she did "not know how to tell them in any other way." She was aware that historical facts frequently suffer from association with fiction and she was anxious to prevent this. Accordingly, she "resisted every temptation to embellish the true story which is here entwined with the fictitious one, . . . Nothing, then, is given but the leading scenes in the persecution of a well-known Jesuit Father and his people, in the State of Maine, during the Know-Nothing epidemic, which, for them culminated in 1854." Anyone acquainted with the Ellsworth affair must admit that Miss Tincker is a good witness. The major historical characters and events are easily identified under the thin disguise: Bapst has been given the name of Rasle, Jarvis is Yorke, Ellsworth has become Seaton. Miss Churchill, the teacher hired by Rasle when the chapel was converted into a school, is probably the author.

Her decision to set the record straight through the medium of a historical novel proved to be a happy one for the book proved to be a best seller. It first appeared serialized in the *Catholic World,* starting in the April 1871 issue and concluding June 1872. Before the fifteenth and last installment appeared it was published in book form and soon went into its fourth edition. It was, remarked one reviewer, "a distinctively American novel which one can honestly praise as a work of art."

Soon after the success of *The House of Yorke* she went to

Italy and there resided for a number of years (1873-1887). These were the productive years of her life and one novel followed another. *Grapes and Thorns* (1874), a story built around the seal of the confession, and *Sunny Months* (1877), a picture of Catholic life in Rome, were her next two books, and critics recognized in them a distinctly new note in Catholic literature. Her fourth novel: *Signor Monaldini's Niece* established her reputation. This one was published by the well-known Boston firm of Roberts Brothers in 1879 in the "No Name Series." The reviewer in *The Nation* told his readers:

> We believe, from the internal evidence, that this book is written by an American woman; it is very clever, but its atmosphere is rather what we expect in the work of certain clever Frenchmen.

As her popularity as a novelist grew her Catholic readers diminished. One who knew her well explains that the Catholic interest in her writings was so slight that she had no choice but to write for the established publishers. They were glad to get her manuscripts. Roberts published her next one, *By the Tiber* (1881). Lippincott carried *Jewel in the Lotus* (1884) and *Aurora* (1886) in their *Series of Select Novels,* and published "Sister Silvia," a short story, in their second volume of *Stories by American Authors* (1884). Houghton Mifflin handled her next two, *The Two Coronets* (1889), a romance that carries on in Italy and Maine, and *San Salvador* (1892), where she creates an Utopian community for her story. Five titles of her writings during the years 1878-1892 will be found in *A Guide to the Best Fiction in English* (1913) by E. A. Baker.

During these busy years as a writer she had ceased to practice her religion. The reason for this has not been given. But she recovered her precious gift and returned to Boston. She has a lengthy poem "Isabella Regnant" in the October 1892 issue of the *Catholic World,* a tribue to Queen Isabella on the quadricentennial of America's discovery:

> Behold my thought of what a queen should be!
> God and his saints make such a queen of me!

A few months later, in the February 1893 issue of the same monthly, she contributed a short story: "Two Little Roman

Beggars." A collection of her short stories was her last book: *Autumn Leaves* (1898). She grew tired of writing. She was now in the autumn of her life, sixty-five years old, and she spent the remaining nine years of her life in quiet retirement in Boston with her brothers and sisters and friends.

4. JOHN JOSEPH A'BECKET

John Joseph A'Becket, a short story writer and literary critic at the turn of the century, was born in Portland in 1849. His mother's family name was White and she could trace her ancestry back to the Pilgrim settlers; his paternal grandfather was born in England. He attended the public schools of Portland, and then in 1865, at the age of 16, entered Holy Cross, spending two years at the Prep and the last and third in the college. Who directed him to Holy Cross we do not know. He became a Catholic in 1866 while a student at Holy Cross; both his mother and his sister were converted, too. Again we do not know whether all three entered the Church at the same time, but it seems likely that the mother and her two children were attracted to the Church before young John entered Holy Cross. Two years after his conversion he entered the Society of Jesus.

As a young Jesuit scholastic he taught rhetoric and the belles-lettres at a number of Jesuit colleges; for the year 1875-1876 and again for 1878-1880 he was back at Holy Cross. As his ordination was nearing he decided that he did not have a vocation to the priesthood and his request to leave the Society was granted. In the college directory both as a student and a teacher he is listed as John Joseph A. Becket. This could be a mistake, of course, but it is more probable that he made a slight change in his name, a change that corresponded with his English aristocratic features. He was, all who knew him agreed, a man of distinguished appearance, and these features are clearly seen in a painting of him by Edward Quinn. One can see a photo of this painting in Elizabeth Jordan's *Three Rousing Cheers,* her autobiography, where she has included him in a gallery of her friends. A'Becket is there with Henry James, Arthur Brisbane, and Charles A. Conant; he was, she tells us, the best of her friends. But she calls him John Joseph à Becket. We have accepted the name as he gave it to biographical dictionaries and as it appears after the articles he contributed to the *Catholic Encyclopedia.* We can assume that this was the spelling of his choice.

A'Becket had the good fortune to become acquainted with S. S. Carvalho, the managing editor of the New York *Evening World,* and was hired as an editorial writer. But he never spent any more time in his office than was required to write one or two good editorials and would devote the remaining part of the day to more satisfying interests. Later he became London correspondent for the *World* (Elizabeth Jordan says he was assistant to Tracy Greaves, the London correspondent), and this was a more agreeable work. But after a few years he was recalled to New York and appointed "space writer" for the *Sunday World.* He did not have the temperament for journalism, and this last appointment makes it clear; he was paid for what he produced. After a stint as literary critic for the *Literary Digest* he abandoned the field of journalism, about the year 1893. He had been given a rare opportunity for an outstanding career in journalism, but again found that it was not his life.

His talents were in creative writing. In a regular feature of the *Catholic World,* "Authentic Sketches of Living Catholic Authors," he is described as "a writer with a future." This was in the first issue of 1897 and by then his short stories were appearing regularly in *Harper's Weekly, Scribner's Magazine, Harper's Monthly,* and the *Catholic World.* Like so many young writers he was at the time planning a novel on American life. It was never written. His talents responded to the demands of the short story, and in this he excelled. He was also a conversationalist of unusual charm, "one of the best five talkers" among Elizabeth Jordan's wide acquaintances. This second talent has its charm but pays rather poorly, and it contributed no doubt to his habitual straitened financial status until his untimely and tragic death shortly before the Christmas of 1911.

His contribution to scholarship will be found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, for he was one of the makers of this model of reference works, hailed at the time as the "greatest triumph of Christian science in the English tongue." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia and Its Makers* A'Becket has the first place alphabetically. His contribution was by no means slight, for about sixty articles were written by him. There is, however, one strange feature about these articles; the subject of all of them begins with the first letter of the alphabet and they range from "Abbe" to "Asser, John," as if he refused to write on a topic that did not begin with the first letter of the alphabet. This, however, is an unlikely explanation. More probably he tired of the exacting demands of research before the second volume went to press. Nine volumes were published before his death. If he had maintained a similar pace with the articles listed under the other letters he easily would have had top honors among the contributors.

As a New Englander he was assigned the biographical sketches of two Vermont converts: Frances Allen and George Allen. George Allen, of Milton, Vermont, was a nationally known professor of Greek and ancient languages at the University of Pennsylvania for years and was one of the many whom William Henry Hoyt had attracted to the Church. He, too, had been an Episcopalian minister and had been succeeded as rector of St. Albans' church by William Hoyt. A'Becket does not do the professor justice in his brief sketch, but that could be blamed on lack of available sources. What he writes about Frances Allen, Ethan Allen's daughter, can not be forgiven a person who came from Maine. He credits her with being "the first woman of New England birth" to become a nun. She was not.

Esther Wheelwright of Wells, Maine, has that distinction. As a small child she was captured during an Indian raid on the town in the summer of 1703, and some years later when Father Bigot was visiting the Abenaki at their village on the Kennebec's headwaters he recognized her as a New Englander. She had been adopted by a chief and had forgotten her mother's language. With considerable pressure from Governor Vaudreuil, Bigot was able to purchase the girl from the chief, brought her to Quebec where she became the protégé of the governor and attended the Ursuline convent school with the governor's daughter. News of her finding and her new life in Quebec reached her family and they entreated her to return. She declined, and in time became a member of the Order of St. Ursula. In 1760 she was elected Superior of the convent, the first Superior elected after the conquest of New France by the English. By this election she became the head of the oldest educational institution for women in North America. A'Becket, a native of Maine, should have known about Esther Wheelwright.

A'Becket's death was sad. It came at time when he was enjoying life more than usual for he was what he would call prosperous due to a windfall. The evening he died he had dined with one of his best friends, Joseph E. Willard. Notable persons gravitated to A'Becket, and Willard is a good example. He was a descendant (9th generation) of one of the founders of Concord, Massachusetts, his father was owner of the popular Willard Hotel in Washington, and Willard was considered the richest man in Virginia. When Wilson was elected President he appointed Willard minister to Spain and there he remained during Wilson's two terms; he was the last American minister and the first American ambassador to Spain. The two, Willard and A'Becket, spent the evening together and A'Becket retired to his hotel room. He died that night in bed, suffocated by gas from a defective stove. He had remained deeply religious and in a kindly way prompted his Catholic friends to attend to their religious duties. His funeral was on

Christmas Eve, 1911, in New York's St. Francis Xavier's church. The church was familiar to him for it was attached to Xavier College where he had taught young men the power of rhetoric.

5. CHARLES EUGENE WOODMAN

The town of Saco has become a familiar place in these biographical sketches of Maine converts. Dr. Greene was converted while practicing medicine in this community and Bishop Young lived there as a boy and returned to publish the *Maine Democrat.* Charles Eugene Woodman was born in this town on November 1, 1852.

The Woodman's and the Haley's, his mother's family name, were from old New England families. Charles' father, Colonel Andrew J. Woodman, was the sixth generation in descent from Edward Woodman who arrived in the Bay Colony in 1635. On his father's side, then, Charles had over two centuries of traditions moulding his character. One of the family's prides was its share in the series of wars that shaped the course of local and national history during the colonial and national periods. His father's military rank, however, did not derive from bearing arms in any of the major wars; he was an officer in the local regiment of volunteers so common in New England towns. Young Charles inherited the military tradition and took considerable pride in listing his affilation with martial societies. He informed the editor of the *American Catholic Who's Who* of 1911 that he was a member of the Society of Colonial Wars, Sons of the American Revolution, and the Society of the War of 1812. And from another source, from one who was well acquainted with him, we are told that "to the end of his life, he continued to be a loyal and distinguished member of the society of the Sons of the American Revolution." His father had drilled him well.

Charles received an education that developed his sharp and inquisitive mind. From the local schools he went to Monson

Academy and thence to Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. This would indicate that his parents had reared him in the Episcopalian church. He was at college during the years 1869-1873, and during his senior year he was editor of the college periodical, *Trinity Tablet.* This he considered a position of merit and listed it as one of his achievements. On graduation from Trinity (1873), at the age of twenty-one, he entered the General Theological Seminary in New York. The Episcopalian ministry was his goal.

In and outside the seminary there was talk and serious discussion of John Henry Newman and the Oxford movement, of a similar trend among a group of American clergymen, and of the new Catholic congregation, the Paulists, which had been started by a group of converts under the leadership of Father Isaac Hecker and Father Augustine F. Hewit. Woodman began to question his present position and the questioning brought him into the Catholic Church. He could be called a Newman convert, and one of his prized possessions was a volume of *Horae Diurnae,* used, autographed and presented to him by the great convert Cardinal. He became a Catholic on July 4, 1875. The day, we can be sure, was no accident. Charles Eugene Woodman was an American out of generations of Americans; by the grace of God he was now a Catholic, but he would be an American Catholic. Before the year 1875 had elapsed he was accepted in person by Father Hewit into the Paulist congregation.

This year must have been crowded with soul disturbing problems and painful decisions, and also with extraordinary graces. At the June graduation he received a Master's degree from Amherst. The year of this degree varies, in one source the year 1875 is given and in another 1877, but the former is more probable. By 1877 he was in California studying for the priesthood. This degree was usually given two years after the Bachelor's and at this time did not require residence. His studies at the General Theological Seminary would satisfy whatever requirements were in demand, and the application for the degree indicates that during the early part of the year Woodman had not abandoned his goal of the Episcopalian ministry. We miss the letters and entries in a diary (all his personal papers were lost) that would post us on his doubts, his queries, his advisers, the reactions of professors and friends to the first open manifestation of his Romeward interests. We only know that his conversion ended a romance.

We are told that he was at this time in love and that the young lady discarded him, "the estrangement coming almost directly upon his conversion to the Catholic Faith." It is very probable he was not considering the priesthood at the time of his conversion and this decision came shortly after his conversion and the end of the romance. He applied for admission to the Paulists before the year was over. His sincerity must have been overwhelmingly obvious, for he was accepted notwithstanding his very recent conversion.

The founding fathers of the Paulists saw in this young Maine Yankee a priest of great promise, but feared he would succumb to tuberculosis before the promise could be realized. He was sent to San Francisco to ward off the threat. The Paulists had no house in San Francisco and it would seem that Woodman studied theology privately and at his leisure in the home of a friend of Father Hecker. Not all his time (he was away less than four years) was spent with the books; he spent some of the months of 1877 and 1878 visiting Central America and Panama, at this time part of Colombia. The change of climate restored his health. In the summer of 1879 he asked to be ordained. Archbishop Jose Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco conferred the sacrament on July 13. Now a priest he returned without delay to New York. There is no evidence that he returned to Saco.

Charles Woodman never enjoyed robust health; to the end of his long life of seventy-two, forty-five of them as a priest, he was frail and frequently ill. But he had inherited a physical toughness akin to the rough texture of the soil and coastline of Maine. He did not allow infirmity to interfere with work, and in his new life he found every opportunity for his many astounding gifts. He was not a person of one talent. A list of his activities and achievements is sufficient evidence.

He became an orator of recognized reputation and was sought for on the occasions that are rated important. He was knighted in 1894 by Spain for his work among the Spanish in New York; he was pastor of the crowded Paulist church in New York; he was assistant at the observatory at Catholic University during the years 1892-1894, and when Charles Warren Stoddard became ill he substituted as lecturer in literature. In 1900 he was named assistant astronomer at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, aiding the official astronomer who was another Paulist, Father George M. Searle. He travelled quite widely, on official scientific expeditions and for other reasons. In 1911 his health compelled him to return to California but not to retire; for twelve years (his health declining) he was lecturer and chaplain at the University of California. The loss of his personal papers has been attributed to the San Francisco earthquake, but it is difficult to see why they should have been in that city in 1906; some other calamity during or after 1911 must be blamed. If they had survived we would know and appreciate him better.

He found time to write, too. He is credited with five titles, although some of them must be classified as pamphlets. His first publication appeared in 1887 and was called *Bridal Wreath;* it was the ritual for the solemnization of holy matrimony in Latin and in English. About the same time he prepared the *Manual of Prayers,* a book of devotions that contained translations of the Latin hymns and prayers in the Roman missal and breviary. His wide interests will be found in other titles: *Civil and Religious Liberty* (1890), *Poets and Poetry of Ireland* (1892), and *Perpetual Ecclesiastical Calendar* (1906).

His visits to Maine probably were not frequent, and one known incident would indicate that the Catholics of Maine had not followed closely the career of this noted convert from Saco. On Sunday, August 1, 1909, Charles McCarthy attended, as was his custom, the nine o'clock Mass at the Sacred Heart church. A visiting priest preached on cheerfulness, and McCarthy was impressed by the man's words and delivery. On inquiry he learned the visitor was a Father Woodman, a Paulist. In the course of the sermon the priest remarked that though he was of Puritan ancestry he had no use for the gloomy teaching of the old Puritans which was contrary to the Scriptures. Father Woodman had returned to his native soil thirty years after his ordination and had thought it appropriate to remind his listeners that joy and cheer were a Christian heritage. There is every indication in McCarthy's entry in his diary that this was the first time he had seen and heard of Charles E. Woodman and that he was unaware that Woodman was a native of Saco.

He was back again in Portland eight years later, and this meant a trip across the country for he was now living on the campus of the University of California, outside San Francisco. On two successive Sundays, both of them chilly and raining, June 10 and 17, 1917, he again preached at the Sacred Heart church. Charles McCarthy was in the congregation and again was pleased with the talks, — "an excellent sermon" and "a very good sermon," he wrote in his dairy. McCarthy knew Woodman was a Paulist from San Francisco and, he thought, "a convert." But there was no indication he was a native of Saco. He does, however, add a personal touch about Father Woodman: "He has a good crop of whiskers." The convert-priest was now sixty-five years old, and the whiskers gave him a pointed Yankee appearance.

Woodman died December 6, 1924, in San Francisco, far from the town of his birth. Saco had seen little of him since his college days, and although he may have been forgotten he himself had never forgotten the many good lessons he had learned in his father's home in that town. When the first Catholic parish in Saco was established in the summer of 1916, a fine old home next to parish church was purchased for the parish rectory. It was the Woodman house.

8

A PERIOD OF EXPANSION: 1900-1924

MANY Catholics of Maine must have thought that Rome was unduly slow in naming Bishop Healy's successor. The fall came and passed and they were still without a spiritual leader. There were, of course, rumors, and the administrator of the diocese, Monsignor Michael C. O'Brien, was linked with many of them. The rumors ceased January 17: "Appointment of Very Rev. M. C. O'Brien as bishop of Portland announced this morning. Everybody here is pleased with his appointment."[1] At last Portland had one of its own priests as bishop; this was good news. There was, however, one flaw in the appointment; it did not come from Rome. Rumors and speculations now increased tenfold and continued until Rome finally appointed on April 22, 1901, the Rector of the American College of Rome, Monsignor William H. O'Connell, as the third Bishop of Portland.

There has been some reluctance to tell the story of this appointment. There is no denying that Maine Catholics were disappointed when one of their own diocesan priests was not selected as their spiritual leader. The first bishop of the diocese of Manchester was a priest brought up and educated in that city; the second bishop of Burlington (there was no native priest when the first bishop was selected) was born in Burlington. The Catholics of Maine would have had one of their own diocesan priests as their third bishop if there had been sufficient agreement among the clergy and laity. In submitting the list of three candidates to Rome, the bishops of the New England Province had accepted the names of those suggested by the diocesan consultors, although the order of preference had, it seems, been altered. All three on the list were Maine priests. The historian of the archdiocese of Boston in the section on Cardinal O'Connell tells us why Rome did not follow, as is customary, the suggestions of the New England bishops:

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[1] From the diary of Charles McCarthy, Jr. under the date of January 17, 1901.

> But strong opposition to all those candidates developed in a considerable section of the Maine clergy, as was attested by numerous letters to the Apostolic Delegate and to Archbishop Williams.

The Cardinal himself makes a reference to this lack of unity among the Maine clergy and laity in his autobiography. Towards the end of Bishop Healy's regime, he writes:

> the differences between the French-speaking and English-speaking Catholics began to be very much accentuated, and by his tact and prudence he was able to prevent at least any disagreeable demonstrations among them. . . . The French Canadians, conscious of the growth of their numbers in the State and Diocese, felt that they had a growing right to representation in the Hierarchy of New England.

Their method of representation evidently did not impress Leo XIII and his advisers and they decided that the spiritual care of the Catholics of Maine would be better protected by one who was not involved in the local situation. It would be another fifty years before Rome selected a native son of Maine for the Portland see.

1. THE START OF A NEW CENTURY

Rome had selected a bishop who knew little of Maine and the Catholics there. "When I took possession [of the see]," he tells us in his autobiography, "I knew just one person in all Maine, good Father Michael McDonough, who died only a few days ago (April 28, 1933)." Outside of the clergy of the state, few Catholics had heard of him. Monsignor O'Connell, however, was far from being an unknown at that time, and his late career as archbishop of Boston and a Prince of the

Church made him one of the best known of American churchmen. His autobiography, his published sermons, addresses and letters, the history of the archdiocese of Boston, and the recent biography by Dorothy G. Wyman supply the reader with ample sources of information on his very active life.

The Catholics of Maine soon gathered information on their new bishop. He was young, only forty-two, and a native of Lowell, Massachusetts, where he was born December 8, 1859, the youngest child in a family of eleven. His father and mother, John and Bridget (Farley) O'Connell, had escaped from their depressed homeland in 1848. Arriving in Montreal, they migrated to upper New York where they remained until 1853 and then moved on to the textile town of Lowell. His early education was received in the local public schools and in 1881 he was graduated from Boston College. His seminary studies had been made in Rome with residence in the American College, a gift to the American hierarchy from Pius IX in 1859 and received in the name of the hierarchy by Bishop Bacon, Portland's first bishop. Already O'Connell's talents in music were appreciated; he was the seminarian director of the college choir and found time to compose "Juravit Dominus" during these years. Ordained in 1884, he spent ten years as a curate, first at Medford and then in Boston, before returning to Rome in 1895 as the new Rector of the American College. His appointment to this post came somewhat unexpectedly and after sharp differences of preferences for the best candidate. His administration of the college won approval (Leo XIII made him a Monsignor in 1897), and he was a prominent Roman ecclesiastic when the impasse over the Portland see arose. His name was submitted by the same person who suggested him for the rectorship: Cardinal Satolli, his former professor at Propaganda. Cardinal Satolli consecrated him bishop on May 19, 1901, in the Corsini chapel of St. John Lateran.

His return to America was unhurried; there were college affairs demanding attention and ordering. More than five weeks after his consecration he was back in Boston; his expected arrival on June 14 was "unavoidably delayed," the *Pilot* told its readers. He later wired that he had secured passage on the steamer *Commonwealth,* departing from Liverpool on June 20. He arrived in Boston on June 28. On July 4, while the city's church bells were ringing and the air was filled with exploding firecrackers, he was installed as the Bishop of Portland. Monsignor O'Brien read an address of welcome and led the clergy to Bishop O'Connell to pledge their loyalty and obedience. The bells and firecrackers were an established Independence day tradition and in no way part of a planned welcome to the new bishop. In a talk on the first anniversary of his installation the bishop referred to the happy coincidence of the date, but many people in Maine wondered if it were entirely undesigned. After the ceremony Monsignor O'Brien returned to Bangor and to his parishioners of St. Mary's who loved him dearly; four month later they were mourning his death.

Bishop O'Connell's stay in Maine was brief, — less than five years. Most of the fifth year was spent on a papal mission to the Emperor of Japan; when he returned to America after this mission via Rome he was no longer the Bishop of Portland. The Holy Father had rewarded him for a mission ably performed by appointing him the coadjutor archbishop with the right to succeed Archbishop Williams of Boston. He was in Maine, then, about four years and this was hardly time enough for the people of Maine to get well acquainted with him. He was different from his predecessors and the Catholics adjusted slowly to his unfamiliar ways and preferences. The installation on the Fourth of July was a hint of others to follow. His entourage was unexpected: an Italian valet, an Italian coachman, an Italian music master; a winter visit to Florida was something new, although Bishop Healy had accustomed them to the idea that a bishop should travel. His association with high society and the political figures of the city and state was carefully considered.

Actually he was sought after. When President McKinley died Bishop O'Connell was invited, although only in the city a little more than a month, to give the formal oration at the official memorial service in the City Hall; when President Roosevelt visited Portland a year later he expressly requested to see only one clergyman: the Catholic Bishop of Portland; the governor and staff attended the memorial Mass for Leo XIII in the cathedral; he was invited to be a member of the exclusive Cumberland Club and accepted. His biographer suspects it was part of a Republican strategy to wean the Catholic voters from the Democratic ranks, and if so it was unlikely that the bishop was unaware of their designs. And it was indeed something new to see the Catholic bishop, a son of an Irish immigrant, courted by the social leaders of the state. He was quite at home in their parlors and club rooms and they soon discovered he was a many-talented person, with a European outlook and culture, a lover of music, well-read, a good conversationalist, diplomatic when the occasion demanded and outspoken when it did not. If any came with the idea of patronizing, he or she thought differently after being introduced to him. He was breaking down an isolation between the Catholics and the Protestants, and the Catholics must have been secretly pleased that they had a bishop who could do it.[1]

The bishop himself reviewed the achievements and progress made during his episcopacy in his farewell pastoral to the diocese and farewell address to Portland. Both are published in the second volume of *Sermons and Addresses.* The bishopric was "no sinecure," he wrote. The work required in such a vast diocese of different nationalities was demanding: "Five years of such work are equal to many times that term in a Diocese less varied, less extensive, and less laborious." Later, as he reviewed the seven decades of his busy life from the vantage of a large archdiocese and the position of a Prince of the Church, this contemporary opinion of the burdens of the Portland see was substantially modified. "My life in Portland," he wrote in his autobiography, "was passed amid the greatest tranquillity and, as the work of the Diocese was never excessively absorbing, I found plenty of time for reading and study."

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[1] The Catholics themselves were partially responsible for their isolated position. Catholic priests had been invited to open the legislature with a prayer, but Bishop Bacon had consistently advised them to decline. Some pastors, it is true, had accepted despite the bishop's directions, but Protestants naturally concluded from the refusals that the Catholics preferred to remain outlanders. Not until the last year of his life did Bacon reverse his policy and then he allowed Father Michael O'Brien of Augusta to appear in cassock and surplice and on his knees to offer a simple "invocation to Heaven to bless our assembled legislators." Not until this isolation had disappeared could Catholics influence contemporary society and Bishop O'Connell realized this.

At the time, the early years of the twentieth century, given the vast territory to be covered, the lack of facile communications, the lack, too, of close unity between the two major nationalities among the Catholics, the need of more and better parishes, schools and social institutions, the demands of the Portland diocese were sufficient to keep the young bishop active. The diocese was vast; he soon discovered this. In his talk to the clergy on the first anniversary of his installation he admitted he had not been able to visit all the churches in Maine. Wherever he had gone, however, he had found evidence of unity between pastor and people and zeal in abundance, and he had noticed an improvement in the social conditions and material prosperity of the Catholics, and this, he hoped, would mean a more abundant growth of institutions of learning and charity in the diocese.

There was a noteworthy growth of the church during the five years; the number of priests increased from 92 to 121, the churches from 86 to 104, the Catholic population from about 97,000 to 110,000. Maine was profiting from what is called the "new" immigrants, those from Eastern Europe, the Italians, the Poles, and the Russians. Since 1890 they had been outnumbering the Germans, the Irish, and the Canadians. One of O'Connell's first instructions to his clergy had to do with these new immigrants in the diocese. Like the Irish and Canadians of the nineteenth century, these newcomers were too often coldly received and isolated in the communities where they settled. In his first pastoral letter to the clergy he urged a Christian concern for them. This nation, he wrote, was "an international amalgam of every nation under the sun," and does not bear "the stamp" of any overseas nation. We are, he reminded them, children of immigrants, and the marvellous growth of the Catholic Church in this country is due to the Germans, the French and the Irish. Now the country and the Church were facing a new era; thousands are coming from a different sector of Europe and the world, from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland, Russia, and the Orient, and these new immigrants were receiving a treatment similar to that which "own fathers experienced." The clergy must never forget that the Church asked "naught of the racial affiliations or of the manner of speech" of those seeking her aid. The duty of both bishop and pastors was clear: to make provision to care spiritually for these new Americans. He asked the pastors to supply him with statistics so that a resident priest could be provided, if their numbers warranted, or a missionary who knew their language assigned to visit them periodically. Two singular coincidences are linked with this pastoral. It was written in 1903, fifty years after the bishop's father settled in Lowell; he may or may not have been aware of this. In 1903, a Polish immigrant, Stephen M. Muskie, migrated to America and settled in Rumford, Maine, as a tailor. The Polish immigrant's son, Edmund S. Muskie was elected fifty years later, 1954, as governor of Maine, the first Catholic elected by the voters of the state to this post.

O'Connell's pastoral letter was written May 31, 1903. Reading it, the Catholics of Maine realized their bishop was able to pen a well-written and timely pastoral; at this time, too, they realized their bishop was marked for higher posts in the Church. A month or so before this pastoral had been sent to the clergy O'Connell had declined an important promotion. The Philippine Islands were now American territory and America priests were replacing the Spanish in the missions, parishes, and sees. Rome offered O'Connell the office of archbishop of Manila. This invitation brought him to Washington to consult both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. He discovered that his views on the Spanish-American war might be a handicap in the new post; he had considered the war unjust but his was not a solitary opinion at the time and since. Barrett Wendell had considered it "a needless war," and Bliss Perry, thirty-five years after the event, adhered to his original and similar opinion. It could well be that Roosevelt had an inkling of the promotion when he visited Portland in the summer of 1902 and had asked to meet Bishop O'Connell; his friend and American ambassador to Italy, George Von L. Meyer, had attended the consecration ceremony of O'Connell and could post the president on the young bishop. O'Connell was given a free hand; it was an invitation and not an appointment. He decided he "would remain in Portland and go on with my work there." It was, however, a fairly clear indication that he would not long remain there.

Among the projects remaining to be done was the renovation of the cathedral. More than thirty years had passed since this impressive Gothic church had been completed by Portland's first bishop and its construction had been plagued by one misfortune after another. It was Bishop Healy's task to pay off the debt. Now, after three decades of service, it was in need of repair, and Bishop O'Connell renovated it "from floor to the ceiling." When the work was completed he could say: "If in all America there is a better equipped cathedral in all that pertains to the dignity of worship and the glory of the House of God, I do not know it. And the work has been so thorough and so complete that for many years to come nothing more will be needed." The eighteen imported Munich windows were truly beautiful works of art. As becoming a church dedicated to Our Lady most of the windows remind the worshippers of the great mysteries of her life; becoming, too, are the two windows dedicated to Bishop Bacon and Bishop Healy. The great window of the Immaculate Conception above the high altar was a gift of Bishop O'Connell. Many years, as predicted, did pass before there was further need of extensive restoration and renovation. That time came when the diamond jubilee of the diocese and the sixtieth anniversary of the dedication of the cathedral was celebrated in May, 1930. Then, under the direction of the cathedral rector, the Rev. George P. Johnson, now Vicar-General of the diocese, the cathedral was again restored and beautified and a brochure on the history of the imposing edifice published.

As O'Connell reviewed his years as Portland's third bishop in his farewell pastoral to the diocese and farewell address to Portland, he mentioned the support he had given to the promotion of Catholic societies and clubs in Portland and the state, and one will readily agree that in this he was answering an urgent need. The hierarchy had been gravely disturbed during the second half of the nineteenth century about the large of number of Catholics seeking membership in societies considered dangerous to the faith of Catholics, if not prohibited by the ban on secret societies. But Catholics were seeking admission to them because of the attractive financial benefits accruing to members and the provisions for social and cultural activities and companionship. Attractive Catholic societies and clubs were needed, not to isolate the Catholics from their fellow citizens, but to provide them with adequate social facilities without risk to their religious convictions. Bishop O'Connell introduced the Catholic Union for Men, a society that had proven successful in Boston, and he sponsored the Catholic Reading Circles, founded by the Catholic Summer School, a Catholic Chautauqua project. As a curate in Boston in 1895 he had been invited to give a series of talks to the Catholic Summer School at Plattsburg and hence was long acquainted with the good work they had been doing in advancing good reading among the young and adults. And he promoted whenever the occasion arose a love for church music; the two windows in the Cathedral symbolizing music tell us how dear this was to him. Nor did he forget the workingmen and the dock laborers in Portland. The Working Men's Club built at great expense gave them one of the finest social clubs in the state.

He had, he thought, made Portland a better known city:

"the name of Portland is known in every land of the Orient." This observation, made in his farewell address to Portland on Sunday, September 9, 1906, was a reference to his mission as papal envoy to the Emperor of Japan, a mission that was rewarded by his appointment as coadjutor archbishop of Boston. The mission that took him around the world did, of course, introduce Portland into news reports, but Portland was not exactly an unknown city at the turn of the century and it is doubtful that many Maine natives, with the exception of the Catholics, were pleased to have a Catholic bishop advertising their most important city. The trip and the mission are adequately described in his autobiography and biography.

That Pius X had selected him for this delicate task was an unquestioned recognition of his ability. His friend Cardinal Merry del Val, now papal Secretary of State, was no doubt an important factor in the selection. Cardinal Satolli undoubtedly contributed, too. Satolli had visited O'Connell in Portland, the first Cardinal to visit Maine, late in July, 1904. The Russo-Japanese war had started the previous February. The Cardinal presided at Mass in the Cathedral Sunday, July 24, and the next evening O'Connell invited a few guests to dine with the Cardinal at the episcopal residence (Charles McCarthy refused an invitation but does not give us the reason why he declined). O'Connell spent that winter, sailing November 19, in Rome, returning in February.

Word that he had been appointed papal envoy arrived late in August, 1905, — the month that President Roosevelt met with the peace commissioners of Japan and Russia to draft the Portsmouth treaty ending the war. O'Connell was entrusted with a personal letter to the Emperor and a mission to observe the conditions and prospects of the Church in a nation that suddenly had become one of the world's major powers. He took two secretaries with him, Father Patrick Supple, a curate in the Boston archdiocese, and Father Charles Collins, chancellor of the Portland diocese. The trip was a rich and unexpected experience for Collins, a native of Ellsworth, Maine.

He was graduated from Holy Cross in 1891, when he was twenty-one, and had started his seminary studies at the Grand Seminary in Montreal and had completed them in Paris at St. Sulpice. Ordained in 1894, Healy had appointed him chancellor in 1899 and O'Connell had retained him at the post. He made a good companion, for he was well-read and interested in history (he has to his credit some excellent studies on the Catholic Church in Maine). He returned to Portland decorated by the Emperor and raised to the rank of a Monsignor by Pius X.

It was the middle of September when the bishop and his secretary departed from Portland. It was his final farewell to the city as the Bishop of Portland. When he returned to Boston in the spring of 1906 he was the Coadjutor Archbishop of Boston. He was, however, the administrator of Portland during the vacancy and visited occasionally to administer affairs and finally to deliver a farewell address. A year later, on the death of Archbishop Williams, Friday, August 30, 1907, he became the Archbishop of Boston. Portland then became one of his suffragan sees.

2. PORTLAND WELCOMES ITS FOURTH BISHOP

Rome did not long delay the appointment of a successor to Bishop O'Connell. Again Rome's choice was a priest from the Boston archdiocese, Father Louis Sebastian Walsh, the director of the diocesan schools. In Lewiston at least he was no stranger, for his brother, James, had had until his death in 1904 an important post in the Lewiston Bleachery, and Father Walsh had visited him frequently and had spent his vacations in Maine. Some of the clergy knew him from student days at college or seminary; others recalled him as the master of ceremonies at Bishop Healy's funeral. The newspapers that carried the news of his appointment and consecration gave the people of Maine a fairly complete picture of the new bishop.

He was a native of Salem, Massachusetts, the son of Patrick and Honora (Foley) Walsh, and was born January 22, 1858. He grew up to love the lore of this historic seaport and the history and traditions of New England. Salem was one of the few New England cities and towns with parochial schools, and when he was born there were three of them, two in Walsh's parish and another in the neighboring parish of St. James'. But his parochial education was interrupted in such a manner that it must be counted as one of the factors that shaped his position, both as a priest and a bishop, on Catholic education.

Walsh's first schooling was in St. Mary's parochial school for boys (the other parish school was conducted by the Notre Dame Sisters for girls) when he was five years old. Within three years, however, he was applying for admission to one of the public schools. A debt beyond the resources of the parish compelled the pastor to close the school in November 1865. The decision to close had been taken after financial help from the common school tax had been sought and refused; two years later St. James' parish school also closed. Later in life, when supervisor of the Catholic schools of the archdiocese, Walsh published a history of the origins of the Catholic Church in Salem and a history of St. Mary's parish (Bishop Bacon had preached the sermon and Father James Healy had been master of ceremonies at the dedication of a new parish church to the Immaculate Conception twelve days before Walsh's birth), and one chapter of this history is devoted to these parochial schools. The pastor's request for financial help was, he insisted at this late date, "founded in justice and equity." Maine legislators would frequently be told about the justice of supporting Catholic free schools.

Walsh completed his remaining elementary schooling and secondary education in the Salem public schools (1866-1876), and he willingly admitted that the schooling there received was a sound one however much he regretted that it was not coupled with a religious training. That had to be supplied at home during the week days and in the church on Sundays.

But during his high school years he was guided by a friend in the person of the new curate assigned to the Immaculate Conception parish: Father Matthew Harkins. The priest became his adviser, directed him to Holy Cross College, and later became an older and trusted friend.

Only the fortunate few attended college in the post-Civil War years. To send a son to college was a major decision in the Irish Catholic families, and so it was in the Walsh home even though newspaper accounts of Walsh written at the time of his appointment to Portland observed that his parents were "people in comfortable circumstances." It was his brother James, already working in Lewiston when Louis started his senior high school year, who guided him in the decision and underwrote the expenses. "You had better consult with Father Harkins," he wrote in September, 1875,

> as to what studies you will need to be proficient in, when you should desire to try for Holy Cross College, and then do the best you can for the year, and if everything works favorably at the end of the year and you still desire to go to College, and can take a good rank at the examination why I will do what I can for you.

The two exchanged letters frequently during the year and Louis forwarded his report cards to Lewiston. James was willing to cover the expenses of high school graduation; "you know yourself," he added, "that the folks at home need all they can get to keep the home." Although Louis' future had not been "definitely settled" in August, he was told to "make arrangements that are necessary to prepare yourself for the examination and recollect that if you can finish your course in Worcester in one year you will save a large sum of money." Louis did well in the examination and was admitted to the rhetoric class or sophomore year.

Walsh remained only one year at Holy Cross. His college grades continued to be excellent (better than a 95 average and a perfect grade in history), and Father Joseph O'Hagan, the college president, added to his June report: "Louis has done excellently in everything." Once on the campus he started his weekly letters to his parents and continued to do so during the remaining years of study in Montreal, Paris, and Rome. The letters are clue to his character. They were never signed with the familiar Lou or Louis; it was always "Your Affectionate Son [or Brother], Louis S. Walsh." And the arrival of the letters to 10 Ward Street, Salem, Massachusetts, was the big event of the week; after they were read by the family they were carefully put away for future consultation and when the Walsh home was closed brought to Portland by the bishop.

In the fall of 1877, after his freshman year at the college, he started his studies for the priesthood and these took him first to the Grand Seminary (1877-1879) in Montreal for philosophy where he was "well satisfied with everything here and like[d] the Sulpicians far better than the Jesuits in every respect," then to St. Sulpice (1879-1882) in Paris for theology, and finally to Rome for advanced studies in canon law and theology. He was ordained in St. John Lateran in Rome on December 23, 1882. The following June, having received his degrees in both disciplines, he returned to Boston and spent one year as a curate at St. Joseph's in Boston's West End. He knew that this was a temporary assignment, for Archbishop Williams had another assignment in mind when he was sent to Rome for graduate work.

A diocesan seminary had been desired and planned since Bishop Fenwick's early years in Boston. The founding of St. Joseph's Seminary in Troy, in 1864, for the New York Province had partially solved the problem (only partially for this seminary was never able to take all the seminarians from the Boston diocese), but the problem became urgent once again in 1875 when New England became a province with Boston as the metropolitan see. A seminary of their own could now no longer be postponed. In the fall of 1884 the dream was realized with the opening of St. John's Seminary in Brighton staffed by the Sulpicians. But even they needed the assistance of some diocesan priests, and Father Walsh had been selected for the new faculty. He felt at home there, for the Rector of the seminary was Father John B. Hogan, his professor at St. Sulpice.

Education, as a professor or an administrator, was his daily fare for the next twenty-two years, thirteen as professor of canon law and history and nine as the director of the archdiocesan school system. This was a new post established by Archbishop Williams in 1897 to replace the board of twelve or more pastors of important parish schools. The board had not been a success. Supervision of schools demanded frequent visitations and inspections to observe how established standards were observed, and this task called for an office and person acquainted with educational needs and trends. "A task of no ordinary difficulty awaited the young priest," remarked a writer in the *Pilot*, "as the schools were numerous, and a great variety of religious communities, with considerable difference in methods, were represented among the teachers." And there were the many pastors with different ideas and methods with whom he had to work, for they were the directors of the parish schools. He managed to make considerable progress despite all difficulties, and in 1906, when he passed the work on to a successor, there were nearly 47,000 children in the free Catholic schools of the archdiocese, and he had initiated a system of conferences for the teachers of the schools. His work in Catholic education had been recognized by his appointment as chairman of the parochial school department of the Catholic Education Association. In clerical circles, too, his ability was recognized. His name was frequently mentioned as the probable choice when death created a vacancy in the New England hierarchy; some thought he would succeed Bishop Healy and "he was talked of widely" as Williams' coadjutor archbishop.

He was, then, when appointed Bishop of Portland a recognized authority in Catholic education and a historian with deep interest in the Catholic history of New England, and he had found time in these latter years to publish in both these fields of interest. His first publication has been mentioned, a history of the Catholic churches in his native town. This was followed by *A Historical Sketch of the Growth of the Catholic Parochial Schools in the Archdiocese of Boston* (1901), a volume that tells us how well he knew the background of the schools he supervised, and also in this same year *The Early Irish Catholic Schools of Lowell, Massachusetts 1835-1852.* This work on the Lowell schools was originally a sermon he had preached at St. Patrick's in that city on Sunday, April 21, 1901, the day before the news arrived that a native of Lowell, William H. O'Connell, had been appointed Bishop of Portland. Lowell, one will notice from the dates of this brochure, had Catholic schools before many other parishes in Massachusetts, but they, like those in Salem, had closed.

The Lowell Catholic schools, however, were unique, and one can observe the influence of the Lowell system on Walsh's ideas of the proper relationship between the Catholic schools and the local community. The Lowell schools were public. It is quite true that the system had been devised as a method of segregating the sons and daughters of the Irish immigrants from the Yankee children, but even so, the authorities of Lowell recognized the need of providing educational opportunities for the children of the immigrants and were willing to provide at public expense schools where the Catholic religion was taught and where the teachers were Catholics. It was an experiment that promised a solution to the educational problems of a pluralistic society, but unfortunately the revival of nativism in the 1850's ended the experiment. Had it been allowed to develop and adjust itself to the changing American scene it might easily have been the model system for other communities and other states. Father Walsh realized this, and as bishop would advocate a system quite similar to the Lowell experiment.

His appointment to Portland was well received. One even went so far as to write him: "You will find the clergy docile and well-disposed to you." This was, of course, more than Walsh expected, and he soon found that it was not literally true. Maine was not Utopia. But the *Pilot's* special correspondent in Maine did discover general satisfaction with Rome's choice. "Every prominent Catholic and many not connected with the Church who have been approached . . . have expressed sincere approval of the choice, . . . " One of those approached, Father Thomas F. Butler of Lewiston, a classmate of the bishop-elect both at Holy Cross and at St. Sulpice, described Walsh's personal appearance and traits: a man of gentle, genial disposition, ever on the alert, easy to approach although his manners were suave and benign. Walsh did impress people; one who had been deeply impressed by an early contact with him was the editor of the Portland *Eastern Argus.* Indeed, the editor thought Maine had been particularly fortunate in her Catholic Bishops:

> Portland has been singularly favored in her prelates – they have all been men of piety, great scholarship, good judgment and great executive ability.

And Bishop Walsh was no exception. Now "in the prime of life, of medium stature," he is "a most charming man to meet. He is simple in his tastes, very scholarly and combines dignity with affability." The editor had noticed a trait that does not appear in Father Butler's description. Bishop Walsh was, as the Catholics of Maine would discover, dignified.

On Thursday, October 18, the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, Bishop Walsh was consecrated. Arrangements were made with care, for this was only the second consecration in the Portland cathedral. The elders in the families could recall the first one, that of Bishop Healy some thirty years ago. But for them and the younger generation the coming event was, according to the *Argus,* "the chief thought in Catholic homes, as well as a subject of friendly interest among the non-Catholic citizenship." Portland was crowded for the occasion. "Every train arriving on the 17th inst. from North, South, East and West brought its quota," and "a special train at 6:50 A. M. from Boston brought at least two hundred other guests." Even Charles McCarthy, Jr., inclined towards sharp criticism in his old age, was delighted with the arrangements and ceremony:

> Rev. Louis S. Walsh was consecrated Bishop of Portland today. There were present more than 300 priests, 10 Bishops and 2 Arch

> bishops. The ceremony was grand and imposing, and the arrangements for seating the people were perfect.

The planning was a good example of Walsh's concern for and mastery of details.

The two archbishops were O'Connell, Walsh's predecessor, and Williams, metropolitan of the New England province. The demands of consecrating were beyond the strength of the aged archbishop; even his presence as the presiding prelate was a sacrifice. But it was a sacrifice the Catholics of Maine appreciated and they watched him closely from the moment he entered the cathedral. Bishop Harkins of Providence, his adviser since his high school days in Salem, had the honor of consecrating him, assisted by two other friends, Bishop Thomas Beaven of Springfield and Bishop John Brady, auxiliary to Williams. Father Philip R. McDevitt, the superintendent of parochial schools in the archdiocese of Philadelphia, preached.

The dinner after the ceremony was a pleasant ending to the day. The toastmaster, Monsignor Wallace, with a touch of humor remarked how Maine during its eighty-five years as a state had given leaders in national affairs, but had "not yet given a man of prominence to matters ecclesiastical." Somehow Bishop Young was always forgotten. Both archbishops spoke. Williams was in a reminiscent mood and recalled his first visit to Maine seventy-three years before when he was a lad of eleven. By stage and steamboat he had reached Gardiner on his way to college in Montreal and in Gardiner was joined by another lad two years older than he, the son of the only Catholic family in this Maine town. The lad was John Esmond whose untimely death at the college had deprived Bishop Fenwick of a promising candidate for the priesthood. No more telling way could be devised to relate the marvellous growth of the Church in Maine than this incident in the life of the archbishop.

Walsh plunged into diocesan work. Visitors called on him daily in his residence or on his travels. At times his visitors were Protestants. In Island Falls (the first visit of a Catholic bishop to the town) two members of the school committee called to discuss a problem child. Both were Protestant ministers. He liked to walk alone or with a companion through the Maine towns. Island Falls was an old town, "but only recently has shown activity;" Kennebunk had "all the marks of a comfortable, wealthy town of New England." At the beginning of the new year, two months after his consecration, Father M. C. McDonough of Bath replaced Monsignor E. F. Hurley as his Vicar-General, and when Monsignor Wallace of St. Patrick's, Lewiston died McDonough was appointed to that parish. He remained the Vicar-General during Walsh's episcopacy. By the end of 1907 Walsh had seen most of the diocese. "It has been a pleasant, happy, busy year for me, in fact too busy perhaps, as I was away from the Diocese for rest only one Sunday in fourteen months."

In his travels Walsh shrewdly observed the prospects of the towns and cities. The prospects in the Aroostook and Madawaska were good "for lumber and paper business," and he thought Van Buren had great promises of becoming "a great centre of industry and education." But the Marists were not happy about the college. The enrollment was low and there was "no real interest in education in the whole section, where work and money are the life." To encourage vocations (he had accepted ten priests into the diocese and had ordained two for the diocese during 1907), he had ordained a young man at Van Buren for the Marists and another for the diocese in Lewiston. These were the first ordinations in these communities.

Despite his busy schedule he discovered at the end of 1907 that he had wasted "time & energies in useless and endless disputes." One was in Waterville, over the division of the parish of St. Francis de Sales made by his predecessor. Another was with the Lewiston *Messager,* a French journal, whose editorial policy had become obnoxious, and he had discovered that the editor was less responsible for this policy than a certain group behind the paper. Yet as he reviewed the past year he found "manifold reasons to thank God." And he had decided on many policies and plans for the future.

3. RECALLING MAINE'S CATHOLIC HISTORY

Louis S. Walsh was Bishop of Portland for nearly eighteen years, from 1906 to 1924, and during these years the Catholic Church in Maine developed "beyond the fondest aspirations of her devoted children." The number of Catholics, churches, clergy, religious congregations, parishes, schools, hospitals, and houses of charity increased and multiplied. A glance at the statistics for 1906 and for 1924 will reveal the growth. Walsh was a man of activity, a promoter, a builder. But he had a deep respect for past, for the origins of the Catholic faith in Maine, for the pioneers and their descendants who had made the expansion possible. This respect he manifested in designing his coat of arms where one sees a missionary with a rosary at the belt of his black cassock and a book in hand preaching to a group of Indians, one of them a child, on the banks of a river, and across the river a stag, a pine tree, a hill, and over the hill a cross. It told the story of the early Church in rugged Maine and the work before him: to continue to preach and educate both young and old and to keep aloft the Cross of Christ. He wanted the future expansion to be a development of the past, and he wanted the Catholics of Maine to know that past.

He came to Maine at the right time. Anniversaries of all kinds, tercentenaries, bicentenaries, centenaries, golden jubilees, were approaching. He decided to make full use of them to remind the Catholics of Maine of their heritage. He began the year after his consecration with a salute to Rasle; he died while planning an elaborate program for the bicentenary of Rasle's death. A checklist of these celebrations will suffice to let us know how much time and energy he spent in planning them and how he succeeded in impressing on both Catholics and non-Catholics the heritage that was theirs. And coupled with celebrations of great events and their makers would be a historical magazine recording these happenings for future generations. This was a program that appealed to his temperament and scholarly interests. A few words about the celebration of these anniversaries and about the historical magazine can not be omitted.

Madison was the site of the first celebration. This was not occasioned by an anniversary, but Bishop Walsh discovered that one of the four new parishes to be established in 1907 was in Madison, a town near Norridgewock where Sebastian Rasle died, and that a new church was ready to be blessed. He decided to honor the missionary on August 22 by dedicating the church to St. Sebastian and re-dedicating, after considerable restoration, the monument erected by Bishop Fenwick nearly seventy-years before. Father Thomas Campbell, S.J., author of books on the North American martyrs and missionaries, was invited to give the formal address. The response to this first venture was enthusiastic, — "thousands of devoted pilgrims" attended. By special invitations and publicity he aroused interest in his project. James P. Baxter, president of the Maine Historical Society, attended and arranged that the Society's valuable Rasle relics be exhibited at the monument during the ceremony. The affair was well publicized. Walsh noted in his journal that the *Pilot*, the Boston *Herald*, the Portland and Bangor papers carried full accounts; The *Eastern Argus* had four columns and a photo of the Rasle monument. Walsh knew the value of publicity and he obviously had the right approach to the press. Good publicity was a feature of succeeding celebrations.

St. Patrick's in Damariscotta was the locale for the next celebration. This was the first church built in Maine outside the chapels in the Indian villages and had been blessed in 1808 (the same year the diocese of Boston was established) by Bishop Cheverus. The beautiful brick church had carried its hundred years remarkably well and was now the oldest Catholic church in New England. The parishioners, led by the descendants of the Catholic pioneers, vied with one another to make the day a great one. The Kavanagh mansion was put at the disposal of Bishop Walsh and he occupied the "Bishop's Room," where Cheverus, Fenwick, Fitzpatrick, Bacon and Healy had stayed as guests before him. It was, he wrote in his journal, "a happy party, a beautiful religious festival and an inspiring scene all day long." The newspapers gave it good coverage. *The Republic*, the Boston weekly published by John F. Fitzgerald, carried a picture of St. Patrick's on the front page of its July 18 issue and ran a feature article on the centenary celebration. Walsh decided that this was the opportune time to launch the magazine he had in mind. The centenary of St. Patrick's became the birthday of the Maine Catholic Historical Society and of the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine.*

Other major celebrations followed: in 1913 the tercentenary of the beginnings of the Catholic Church in Maine at Bar Harbor; in 1915 the golden jubilee of the arrival of the Sisters of Mercy in Bangor; in 1917 the centenary of the death of Father Matignon, the first pastor of St. Patrick's, in Damariscotta; in 1919 the golden jubilee of the cathedral, and since this coincided with the centenary of Maine's statehood the petition of the Damariscotta Catholics to the consititutional convention for religious freedom was recalled; in 1921 the dedication of the restored chapel of Our Lady of Hope in Castine, a memorial to the missionary labors of the Capuchins paid for by Catholics and Protestants; in 1922 the centenary of St. Denis' in Whitefield, the second church built in Maine, and a tribute to the work of Father Dennis Ryan, the first resident parish priest in Maine. Later in this same year the centenary of Bishop Cheverus' visit to Portland to organize the Catholics was noted, and Walsh himself prepared a lengthy article for the *Sunday Telegram* that told the story of the century's growth of Catholicism in the city. In 1923 it was the jubilee of the advent of the Sisters of Mercy in Portland. At this time the bishop was planning, as we have mentioned, a large scale commemoration of Rasle's death when death came suddenly to the bishop himself.

The tercentenary of the arrival of Father Biard and his companions at Mount Desert and the origin of Saint Sauveur mission in 1613 was by far the most elaborate celebration. The date for the event and the plans were announced the previous December 1912; there would be a religious celebration on August 6 and a civic one on October 12. Actually the planning had started shortly after the bishop's arrival in Portland. He had suggested to the pastor that a suitable church, near the original site of the mission at Fernald's Point, should replace the Chapel of St. Sylvia that had been built in 1882 by generous benefactors from outside the state. The suggestion had been followed and in 1908-1909 a stately granite church had been built and two beautiful chapels, St. Ignatius at North East Harbor and the Holy Family at Seal Harbor, had been added. The next year Bar Harbor was made a parish. The church in honor of the Holy Redeemer was awaiting the blessing by the bishop on the day of the celebration.

The Apostolic Delegate was there to offer the Solemn Pontifical Mass, all seven New England bishops attended, and as many priests, Sisters and lay persons as could crowd into the church watched the ceremony and listened to Bishop Walsh's sermon. It was the type of sermon, commemorative of an historical event, in which he excelled. May we not today, he said:

> look up with a certain subdued, let me say, righteous pride and see the vision of Champlain, the noble purpose of Madame de Guerchville, the enduring ambition of Loyola's sons at last fulfilled in this crowning dedication and festive commemoration . . . All was destroyed, and all is now restored, better one hundred fold in grandeur and power . . . Am I not right, therefore, in feeling and saying that the vision of 1613 in France and on this Island has been more than fulfilled in 1913, on this day?

Charles McCarthy, Jr. agreed: "The affair was a complete success in every respect, and Bishop Walsh may well be proud of it. He preached a historical sermon which was very interesting."

The civic celebration was equally successful and more significant. This was held in the Portland municipal auditorium on October 12, and we call this affair more significant because the Catholic laity played the leading roles and they were joined by state and city officials. Mayor Oakley C. Curtis welcomed the occasion and the audience, and Governor W. T. Haines expressed his pleasure "at being able to encourage by his presence the great good done by the Church, and to rejoice with her children over the good results already obtained." His talk had been preceded by a number of papers by prominent Catholic lay leaders of Maine on pertinent problems of the day; Dr. James A. Donavan spoke on the Church and medicine, William H. Looney on Catholic citizenship, and Hon. Charles L. Donahue (two years later, in 1915, he was elected probate judge of Cumberland County, the first Catholic to be elected to a judicial post in Maine) on the Church and education. James G. Chabot of Lewiston spoke for "the 100,000 Franco-American Roman Catholics of Maine." One can gather how isolated the two major nationalities among the Maine Catholics were by his remark that this was the first opportunity ever offered them to join with the other Catholics in a diocesan affair. He gladly accepted the opportunity and used it to bespeak the loyalty of the Franco-Americans as Catholics and Americans. It was the beginning of a new era, with nationality accepting its proper position in the religious life of the people and with the State recognizing publicly the role of the Church in the good society. Bishop Walsh in his talk underscored one aspect of that role: "the great conservative force around which the friends of law and order may always rally and count upon her constant assistance whenever in danger from social and moral upheavals."

The Maine Catholic Historical Magazine

Bishop Walsh was not content to note significant events and heroic pioneers by imposing ceremonies and learned addresses. The past must be recorded for future references. A historical society publishing a magazine was needed. This was a more difficult task, he knew, than planning a series of celebrations, but he was determined to make the venture.

The Kavanagh mansion in Damariscotta was selected for the first meeting to discuss the project, and on Thursday, July 16, 1908, after the centennial Mass in St. Patrick's, forty-five persons gathered in the historic house to listen to the bishop's proposal. There were eighteen lay persons present, charter members of the Maine Catholic Historical Society, and among them will be found the familiar names of Kavanagh, Madigan, Rafter, and Hanly. By the spring of 1911 the society had been legally incorporated and properly organized, and on April 25, 1911, the first annual meeting was held. A drive for membership was launched and plans for a monthly magazine made. It would be a historical magazine "to collect available matter on the history of the Catholic Church in Maine during Her pioneer days, as well as to record present day happenings." To collect all sources extant and to feed material to the editor, parish historical committees comprising the pastor and two parishioners, one a man and the other a woman, were established; if they functioned as intended the diocese of Portland would have had a historical society with an unexcelled archives. This was not the first venture in Catholic journalism in the diocese, and what had preceded did not give the bishop, the editor and the charter members of the society any reason to enthuse.

The Catholics of Maine had been only slightly influenced by the remarkable surge of Catholic journalism in New England during the years 1885-1900. Thirteen weekly journals and sixteen magazines (not counting the French language periodicals) originated during these fifteen years. Only a few, of course, survived, but many of them had a respectable journalistic career, and all of them bore testimony to the appreciation among Catholics of the power of the Catholic press. Only two English periodicals originated in Maine during these years and little can be discovered about either. In Augusta Thomas F. Murphy edited and published the *Celtic Mirror*, a monthly that cost subscribers fifty cents annually. In selecting the title Murphy obviously was not bidding for Franco-American support. It was published in 1895 and had suspended by 1898. No copies of any issue can be located, but this monthly appears to have been the first venture in Catholic journalism in Maine. For that Murphy deserves a plaque. Less is known about the weekly *Columbian* published in Portland; it is listed as current in 1897, but when it originated and when it ceased publication are unknown. The French language journals appeared earlier and were more successful, although they are usually listed in the directories of this period as national rather than religious periodicals, and this, we may assume, at the direction of the publishers. The first journal was published in Biddeford in 1870: *l'Emigré Canadien.* It had ceased publication within six weeks, but the editor and publisher, Léon Bossue dit Lyonnais, was only nineteen years old and fresh from his studies at Laval and l'Academie militaire, and the failure did not prevent him from making his mark in a long and fruitful life as a journalist. Within ten years another journal appeared, this time in Lewiston on March 23, 1880, and *Le Messager* soon prospered and developed into a semi-weekly, a tri-weekly, and finally a daily. Before the century ended Biddeford had its own French language weekly: *La Justice.* It started in 1897, and this second venture in this city succeeded. It, too, like the *Le Messager,* is being published today.[1]

One other journal preceded the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine, The Catholic Opinion,* a weekly that started in 1912, was published in Lewiston and edited by Arthur Cushman.[1] It would seem that the weekly started without any approval of the bishop and it appears unlikely that the publisher was unaware that the bishop was planning a diocesan magazine. In any case the monthly acquired the subscription list and good will of the weekly and any danger from competition was eliminated at the start.

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[1] For the French language journals in Maine, see Soeur Mary-Carmel Therriault, *La Littérature Française de Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Montreal, 1945) pp. 106-109.

Father John E. Kealy of Lewiston was appointed editor of the monthly, aided by a Publication and Printing Committee of three: Monsignor Charles W. Collins, Father (later Monsignor) P. E. Desjardins, and H. W. Haswell. Both committee priests were deeply interested in Maine history. Collins was the author of studies of the Acadians in Madawaska and of Edward Kavanagh, but the diocese and the magazine lost his services when in 1915 he transferred to the Boston archdiocese and spent the remaining years of his life (he died in 1921) on the editorial staff of the *Pilot*. Monsignor Desjardins continued to collect historical data on Maine long after the magazine suspended publication.

The magazine made an important contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in Maine and all must be grateful to Father Kealy for gathering together and publishing material difficult, if not impossible, to obtain elsewhere. If other dioceses had similar magazines the writing of diocesan histories would not be the forbidding task it frequently is. For three years the *MCHM* appeared regularly, – from July 1913 to June 1916, concentrating on the colonial period. The parish historical committees did not function as planned, and this was unfortunate for the few histories of churches and parishes in the magazine, based on the recollections of pioneers or their descendants, are valuable. But the immigrant and his children were slow to appreciate and imitate the Yankees' respect for the past and concern in gathering and preserving the records of their fathers. In the spring of 1916 the editor of the *MCHM* was complaining about the decline of enthusiasm among the members of the society. Many who were capable of "rendering sufficient assistance" had so far submitted only promises, and one could not edit promises. In July 1916 the magazine became a quarterly, and as such continued for a year. Then the war forced suspension. The attempt to return to normalcy did not succeed.

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[1] I have not discovered anything about two other Catholic journals credited to Maine: The *Catholic Sentinel* and the *Catholic Visitor*.

The last issue of the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* appeared in May 1928. But long before that date there were clear symptoms of impending demise. The first issue of the eighth and last volume is dated October 1919, and this issue was the first published since April 1917. Not until August 1923 did the second issue of the volume appear; the next four issues were published simultaneously in May 1928. It had taken nearly a decade to publish one year's issue. Obviously the magazine was unwilling to die, but the completion of this volume was the end. Bishop Walsh, the heart of the project, had been dead four years. Yet he had succeeded, at least partially, in coupling a historical magazine with the celebration of anniversaries to impress on Maine Catholics the wealth of their heritage.

4. WALSH BECOMES A PUBLIC FIGURE

Bishop Walsh was a man of remarkable energy. Commenting on his years and work in Maine when death ended his activity, the editor of the *Portland Press Herald* observed: "He plunged into the work he saw before him with a zeal and energy which will not fail to command respect." He became well known in Maine and long before his death he was "one of the outstanding citizens of the State." The series of anniversaries prepared with care and observed with all possible splendor attracted the attention of the public. By his annual visitation to parishes, by his program of more and better parishes, by his policy of new and better schools, by his articulate interest in the affairs of the state, he became a familiar figure in Maine and made an impact on Maine's way of life. Maine, in turn, was quick to recognize his leadership. One recognition came less than two years after his consecration when the University of Maine conferred an honorary degree on him at the June 1908 commencement. He accepted after consultation and with the understanding that it was in honor of the Catholic Church in Maine. It is too much to expect that the state university was honoring the office of bishop or the Catholic Church; the institution was honoring Louis Sebastian Walsh. The tribute, he tells us, was a surprise to many but well received. Walsh surprised the public on many other occasions.

a. New Parishes

Parishes were from the start of his episcopacy a primary concern, better functioning parishes where already established and new parishes wherever the population and the roster of priests permitted. Parishes had a priority over the school program, for there could be no schools where there were no parishes. During his eighteen years in Maine thirty-six new parishes were founded, — an average of two annually — from Kittery, one of Maine's oldest communities in the southern tip of the state, to Keegan on the St. John. And this was done despite a heavy loss of forty-four priests by deaths during the same span of years. Some years the loss was severe; in 1919 eight died. Yet in 1920 three new parishes were established. The location of these new parishes is an index to the areas in Maine where Catholics were increasing.

The urban Catholic population increased sharply. Four new parishes were added in Portland: St. Joseph's (1909), the first new parish since the Cathedral, St. Peter's (1914), St. Patrick's (1922), St. Louis' (1923). Three were added in Lewiston: St. Mary's (1907), Holy Cross (1923), a division of St. Mary's and St. Peter and Paul's, and the Holy Family (1923), another division of the latter parish. Both these cities now had six parishes. One new parish was added in three other cities: Notre Dame (1910) in Waterville where there were now three, St. Mary's (1916) in Westbrook, and the Sacred Heart (1923) in Auburn. In Bangor, however, a strong Catholic center from the start of the diocese, there was no increase; St. John's, the original parish, and St. Mary's, founded in 1872, still sufficed.

Provision for the new immigrants was the reason for some of these parishes. St. Peter's and St. Louis' in Portland were national parishes, the former for the Italians and the latter for the Poles. The parish of SS. Cyril and Methodius (1923) in Lisbon Falls cared for the three hundred Slovak families living in the three Lisbon communities and the neighboring towns of Danville and South Chisholm. The history of this parish points to the risks national churches faced: the inevitable migration of families when the industry which had attracted the immigrants to the town had failed or declined. The three hundred families of the Lisbon Falls parish have now declined to one hundred and five. But the risk was inconsiderable compared to the good accomplished, for one does not know how many preserved their faith because of parish life while they were striking roots in the new world.

Usually, however, the new immigrant did not settle in sufficient numbers to warrant a separate parish. When the situation allowed it, Walsh would assign a priest to a city parish to take care of one nationality group. Thus Father Norbert Pakalins came to the diocese in 1916 to work among the Lithuanians and was assigned as a curate to St. Patrick's, Lewiston, and Father Joseph Awad was accepted in 1922 to work among the Syrians in central Maine. More often it devolved on the parish priest to care for Catholics of different national origins. As Bishop Walsh noted in his annual report for 1914, the new immigrants were "scattered in all parts and often changed residence to seek work." He urged the pastors to watch out for them and to invite a priest of their nationality to visit them two or three times a year. Frequently, then, a pastor of a rural parish would have a number of missions to attend and a congregation of mixed nationalities in each to protect. Father J. M. Le Guennec, pastor of St. Rose's in Chisholm, is a good example. He had five missions attached to the parish, and parish and missions took him into four different counties. In the summer of 1916 Walsh visited him; he blessed St. Mary's in Riley Village, one of the missions, which was attended by Catholics "of several nationalities," and later he visited another station in Gilbertville where he spoke in English, French, and Italian. There were, of course, immediate advantages in a national parish, but in a congregation of mixed nationalities nationalism happily tended to be submerged in the unity of the faith, and the survival of the faith was the important thing.

The Church showed the strongest gains in the southern and northern regions of the state. In York county there were five new parishes, in Cumberland six (four of them in Portland), and in Aroostook seven. The growth in the latter county was noteworthy. The first parish established by Bishop Walsh was the Holy Family in Daigle, a mission of Fort Kent. This town, about eight miles south of the juncture of the Fish River with the St. John, was named after the first settler, Vital Daigle, a grandson of one of the original Madawaskan settlers. In October, 1906, two months after Walsh's consecration, Daigle started its own parish life. Other descendants of the Madawaskans had moved down the Fish River and during the next two years two more parishes were founded. Both had been missions of St. Joseph's in Wallagrass which, in turn, had been a mission of Fort Kent until 1890. The pastor of St. Joseph's had five missions along the river and the Aroostook road: Eagle Lake, Winterville, Portage Lake, Sheridan, and Ashland. In 1907, Eagle Lake and in 1908, Sheridan became parishes. Towns were growing along the lower St. John, too, and we find two more parishes added there: St. Remi's in Keegan and St. Joseph's in Hamlin, the first above and the other below Van Buren. Aroostook's two other parishes were in the potato area: St. Louis in Limestone, north of Caribou, and St. Agnes in Island Falls, north of Benedicta. Here in northern Maine the bishop discovered a healthy growth of

Catholic population without much help from the new immigrants.

With the exception of Androscoggin County where all four new parishes were in cities (Lewiston and Auburn), the remaining parishes were generally located in towns. This did not necessarily mean a substantial increase of Catholics in rural Maine. The number of Catholics frequently did not warrant a resident priest, but concern for scattered and isolated Catholics did. It was difficult to retain the faith when the nearest church was miles away and a priest was seldom seen between visits to the church. The bishop's report for 1914 describes the situation in the rural areas of Maine:

> In many of the small towns and villages of Maine there are groups of two, six or ten Catholic families, far from any Catholic Church and such groups should have a personal visit from the Pastor at regular intervals, some systematic catechetical instruction, and Holy Mass occasionally on week days, if it is not feasible on Sunday.

The new parishes brought the priest and parish life closer to these Catholics.

How slowly the Church advanced in many regions of the state can be seen by the number of new parishes in the counties. In Kennebec County there were three (Waterville, Winthrop, and North Vassalboro); there were two each in Penobscot (Kingman and East Millinocket), Piscataquis (Milo and Greenville), Somerset (Bingham and Madison), and Washington (Woodland and Lubec); only one was founded in Hancock (Bar Harbor) and Oxford (South Paris, later transferred to Norway as a better site for a resident priest). One can easily see where the slowly developing areas were located: the broad stretch of land across the middle of the state, above the cities of Waterville and Bangor and below Aroostook county, comprising the counties of Washington, Penobscot, Piscataquis, Somerset, and Oxford in the southwestern section of Maine.

When Bishop Walsh died in 1924 there were ninety-five parishes and one hundred and sixty-eight churches in the diocese. These figures tell us how much he did to extend the

Church in Maine. They also reveal how much remained to be done. There were about seven hundred organized towns and cities in the state.

b. Public Issues and the School Question

Bishop Walsh was a public figure and, since public rank invites criticism, he had his share. At times and especially near the end of his episcopacy he was severely criticized in some quarters. How severely we may judge from the obituary comments of the *Press Herald.* This paper's appraisal of the man and his work is generous and glowing, but reference was made to the strictures of Walsh with the advice that "the harsh voice of criticism which may have been raised against him must now be stilled." No doubt much of the bitterness voiced against Bishop Walsh was sired by the Ku Klux Klan which was riding under full sail during the last five years of his life. This voice was raised, not against Walsh, but against the Catholic Church. But Walsh was also opposed and adversely criticized for some of his public positions and statements.

It is true, of course, that his parish program increased the influence of the Church in Maine, but there was little complaint on this score. New parishes and new churches were strictly diocesan affairs and the bishop's concern. The building program required property, and some of the Maine natives may have disliked the news that the diocese had purchased a piece of property in their town and may have grumbled at the sight of a church with a cross near their residence. But they had no legitimate reason for complaint, and Bishop Walsh's zeal in extending religious facilities to the Catholics of Maine (facilities, incidentally, that encouraged out of state Catholics to vacation in Maine) generally won respect if not approval.

His stand on public issues naturally elicited comments. He was well posted on current events and trends and watched the state legislature closely. One who knew him well tells us that:

> When our legislatures were in session he kept in touch with every move, and it is safe to say that not a single measure was proposed

> or enacted without it having been carefully considered in all its bearings towards the great Church over which he ruled, as one ever on the alert for the interests of his flock.

He did not hesitate to advocate and support bills that involved the welfare of Catholics. A good example of this would be his support during the winter session of 1915 of a bill that would permit the legal separation of husband and wife. He openly supported it on the score that it allowed:

> all Catholics and others whose conscience will not permit them to seek for a legal divorce from the bonds of matrimony to obtain by law all the important effects for the protection of innocent parties, of children and of all property rights.

The bill became a law when Governor Curtis signed it on April 2, 1915.

He did not hesitate to oppose measures and projects that he considered poor legislation and detrimental to municipal government. This he did in 1915 when he opposed the proposed bill to create a Recreational Board for Portland. During the first decade of this century many American cities were establishing playground and recreational boards and committees to provide decent facilities for children in overcrowded city districts. It was an undeniably worthy objective, and a leader of the movement in Worcester was Father John McCoy of St. John's parish, a graduate of Holy Cross the year Walsh entered. Walsh was in favor of the objective too, but did not care to see the state legislature move in on municipal affairs. He addressed an open letter to the citizens of Portland and their representatives in the legislature, and the *Eastern Argus* (March 2, 1915) gave it first page space under the caption: "An Incubation of Socialism." Because Portland could provide and control recreational facilities by city ordinance, Walsh thought a board controlled by the state legislature "would promote extravagances, paternalism and socialism and open the door to endless trouble and expense." It was quite sufficient to oppose the measure on the score of needless expenses and poor municipal policy without introducing the charge of socialism against its sponsors. Bishop Walsh had a tendency to exaggerate and the tendency at times weakened his argument. He did, however, discover that the public and the members of the legislature approved of his views. Indeed, his views on public issues frequently found favorable response among the majority in Maine, for his approach to them was conservative. His early years as bishop coincided with the advent and heyday of the Progressives when the political atmosphere was charged with demands for changes on all political levels: municipal, state and national. Walsh was for the old order of life and was "always found in the ranks of those who are ever fearful" of proposed political changes, although he did accept reform legislation providing for an industrial arbitration board (1909), an employers' liability act (1909), food inspection (1915), workmen's compensation, and a 54-hour week for women and minors (1915).

The major source of criticism of Bishop Walsh came from his efforts to change Maine's policy towards the Catholic schools. He was, as the editor of the *Portland Press Herald* told his readers, "by training, temperament and inclination an educator," and he "devoted himself to the extension and improvement of the schools of the Catholic Church in Maine." For this he had worked night and day and had inspired "others to work as hard as he did." Bishop, pastors and parishioners had made an enviable record. Sixteen parish schools were opened during his episcopacy; that was nearly one every year and made the total for the entire state of Maine fifty-six schools, not including, however, the three Indian schools which were conducted by the Sisters of Mercy but were public institutions.[1] During the first quarter of the century parish schools had increased from thirty to fifty-six, and enrollment in them had bourgeoned from 7,819 to 19,137. Academies had also increased: from three with 200 students in 1900 to twelve with 840 pupils in 1924. The only decrease was found in the schools for the Indians; there were still three, but attendance had declined from 169 to 117. Total enrollment in Catholic educational institutions, primary and secondary, academies and the one college, had risen from 8,286 to 20,200.

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[1] Five of the sixteen schools were in Portland, three in Lewiston, two in Houlton; the others were in Augusta, Bath, Benedicta, Fort Fairfield, Orono, and Rumford Falls.

Some Maine papers give the impression that this expansion was due to Walsh's success in obtaining state aid for Catholic schools. To improve the Catholic schools the bishop was moved, we are told by the *Press Herald,* "to assume a leading role in the shaping of legislature in Augusta," and became "an influential agent in this work."

> He fought his fight with courage and persistency. It was his life work and he did it well. Shall we not, now that he has passed into the great beyond where sooner or later all of us must follow, give him the credit which is his due for having lived up to his honest convictions of what was right and for the best, whether we agree with him as to his views or not?

Walsh did attempt to get state aid for the parish schools and he argued his case in Augusta before the legislature and in Portland before the municipal authorities. But he failed to receive favorable action; he did, however, receive bitter criticisms from some quarters. His campaign for state funds for parish schools needs some clarification.

Bishop Walsh came to Maine with a definite attitude on the relationship of the free parish schools to the community, an attitude that had been shaped by his personal experience in the Salem parish school, his knowledge of the early parish schools in Massachusetts, especially in Lowell, and his years as director of schools in the Boston archdiocese. In his opinion these free parish schools performed a public function. Occasionally he referred to them as Catholic public schools, for they were free and the children who attended them satisfied the requirements of compulsory education fixed by public law. They were not the same as academies supported by tuitions paid by students.

Maine authorities admitted some of his premises. The three Indian schools, taught by Sisters, were publicly supported. Of course, these children were special wards of the state and the use of religious teachers was good for the Indians and easy on the public purse. These schools, however, were listed in the *Catholic Directory* as diocesan schools. Maine authorities were willing to go further. Shortly after Bishop Walsh was consecrated, the school board of Frenchville requested that the parish school of St. Luce's be made the public school. This was one of the older parishes in Madawaska and the Sisters of Our Lady of the Rosary had conducted a school there since 1899. Naturally most of the children attended the parish school. A new parish school building was built in 1907, and not long after its completion the public school was destroyed by fire. It was then that the school board requested that the parish school become public. When the request reached Bishop Walsh he gave his consent. Again, we should note that the economic factor, seldom ignored in Maine, may have persuaded the state and local authorities to accept this arrangement. They were of a different mind where the State Public Fund was involved.

This fund, a large one derived from an initial grant and augmented annually by a percentage of certain taxes, was used for the state normal schools, schools in unorganized townships, and pupils in cities and towns. The greater part of the interest from this fund went to the third bracket, the cities and towns, each receiving an annual grant depending on the number of school children in the city or town and the valuation of its school property. Cities like Portland and Lewiston increased their grants by counting all children of school age, those attending the parish schools as well as the public schools. By this method of computation Portland in 1916 increased its annual grant by $22,000 (ten dollars for each of the 2200 parochial students), Biddeford by $21,030, Lewiston by $18,949, Bangor by $8,810. Since the competition for shares of the fund was keen, this method of computation was considered unfair. The Grangers, anxious to get more money for the rural areas, resented the large percentages allotted to cities and towns with parochial schools. Neither could Bishop Walsh and the Catholics see the justice of these grants increased at the expense of the parish schools which were already saving these cities and towns thousands of dollars. The bishop had the figures for each community; in 1915 the parish schools saved Portland $60,000. Hence bishop and Catholics thought it only fair that Portland and other communities transfer to the local parish schools that share of the grant derived from computing parochial students.

The Grangers and others were not enthusiastic over this solution to their complaint. But as Walsh pointed out the state constitution allowed such a distribution of state money when it empowered the legislature to encourage and endow "all academies, colleges and seminaries" in Maine. Since 1820 the legislature had exercised this power by making grants to educational institutions of all grades and religious affiliations. Bishop Walsh, a constitutional rigorist, was on safe grounds and he knew it, and hence did not hesitate to state his case emphatically.

Walsh presented the case of parish schools to the public openly and persistently. He was convinced that the Catholic position was based on justice and equity and he did not take refuge in subterfuge. Through the pages of the *MCHM* he supplied the Catholics with complete statistics on their school system, told them how much their parish school or schools saved their city or town annually, informed them of his efforts before the city government and state legislature to seek redress and relief. Lest there be an escape, he insisted that the parish schools observe scrupulously regulations required by the state; in the summer of 1915 he directed all schools to follow the program approved by the State Superintendent of Education for instruction in music and drawing, and he asked all teachers (306 Sisters and 33 lay teachers) to acquire the state certificate required to teach.

The statistics were impressive and were prepared for all the citizens of Maine. There were (in 1914) forty-three parish schools in twenty-eight cities or towns, attended by 13,578 children. Eleven of Maine's twenty cities had one or more parish schools. There was not a sufficient number of Catholics in the other nine cities (Belfast, Gardiner, Hallowell, Eastport, Ellsworth, Rockland, Saco, South Portland) to warrant the heavy expenses of a school, but, he added, there were plans to establish one in some of these communities. He underscored the financial contributions of Catholics to municipal treasuries by comparing attendance at public and parish schools. Lewiston's school budget was nearly cut in half by the 2,016 parochial students attending the city's five parish schools; St. Peter's alone had a larger enrollment (1,157) than the public schools of many Maine cities. The bishop supplied statistics for every parish school in the state in the November 1914 issue of the *MCHM* so that the Catholics and the non-Catholics had the facts on hand.

He himself, aided by prominent Catholic laymen, presented the facts and proposed a solution in conference with the Portland city officials and before state legislative committees. In the spring of 1915 an amendment to the State School Fund was proposed that would allow cities and towns to make agreements whereby private and parochial schools would be reimbursed on a *pro rata* basis the sum of money allotted to these cities and towns for children attending non-public schools. This was not contrary to the state constitution, it was pointed out. When the statistics had been presented and the justice and legality of the proposal explained, he concluded with this query:

> If, however, the State has been subsidizing a Baptist college, a Congregational academy, a Wesleyan institute, and a Methodist school on and off during nearly a hundred years, and legally doing so, upon what ground or basis can it decline to aid common schools for necessary education by free Catholic citizens of the State?

It was an embarrassing question. Indeed, on what grounds could a refusal be based?

It was, however, declined. Although he was shown "every courtesy" on all these occasions, and "many admitted the justice of the claim," and he publicly thanked both state and city officials (both the governor and the governor-elect were present) attending the tenth anniversary of his consecration "for their personal and official kind feeling and generous aid" towards the Church, the problem was not adjusted. The danger of "diverting common school funds to the support of parochial schools" was the barrier, and the bishop's opponents took their stand behind the barrier.

Neither the bishop's effort to seek relief for the Catholic schools nor the state's refusal to grant it undermined the friendly relations between the Catholics and Protestants of Maine. These good relations were put to a test at the very time the proposed amendment to the State School Fund was introduced in the legislature. An attempt was made to embarrass the Catholics of Maine but failed to receive popular support. The incident is here recalled as evidence of the friendly relations that existed among the Catholics under the guidance of Bishop Walsh and the Protestants of Maine.

During the second decade of the century, groups like the American Conventeers and the Guardians of Liberty, either remnants of the APA or the advance guard of the Klan, were active in attacking the Catholic Church. One of their objectives was the enactment by state legislatures of what were called Convent Inspection bills. Papers like the *Menace* supplied interested parties in the various states with a model bill. The bill provided that the county commissioner or a person appointed by a judge on the petition of twenty persons inspect hospitals, reformatories, houses of detention, convents, asylums, seminaries, schools and such institutions. The commissioner would be obliged to inspect thrice annually and to report his findings. The law, however, did not make a similar demand on the person appointed by the court; evidently the sponsors felt certain this person would divulge his or her findings without legal coercion.

The minds behind this move to embarrass Catholics did not expect many states to enact these bills into laws, although a few southern states did so. What they wanted was a rostrum where they could with immunity attack Catholics, and in the normal legislative process the hearings granted the bill offered an excellent rostrum. In some New England state legislatures these groups and their sympathizers found the desired rostrums. But not in Maine. The bill, once introduced (the sponsors were from a small town with few, if any, Catholics), was assigned to a committee. But before any hearing was arranged, the committee persuaded the sponsors to withdraw the bill. During the next two years, while some states were enacting Convent Inspection laws and others held hearings that turned into bitter attacks on Catholics, no such bill was introduced in the Maine legislature. The failure of the groups to receive support in Maine naturally pleased Walsh, and the Catholics and bishop in turn praised the Maine people for their sane attitude.

5. A SUMMER'S WORK

Bishop Walsh always had a fresh reserve of energy. From the start of his episcopacy he had "plunged into the work he saw before him with a zeal and energy which could not fail to command respect." He retained the fast pace to the end. There was no end to work in the diocese and much of this work was outside Portland. Summer, when unimpeded travel was possible, was the busiest time of the year. One may estimate the demands on the bishop by following him on one of his summer schedules. The account will be tiring, and from this one may conclude how fatigued the bishop was at the end of the summer. The summer of 1916, when Bishop Walsh was completing his tenth year in Maine, has been selected. One will remember that he handled other routine diocesan affairs and faced many other unexpected problems while completing this summer schedule. And one will note his willingness to go out of his way to visit a solitary Catholic family in some isolated hamlet. On some occasions this will be his first visit to some village although he has been following this schedule for ten years, and at times he will be the first bishop to visit a town, though he was the fourth bishop of the diocese.

On Ascension Thursday, June 1, he was in Portland. In the morning he confirmed a class of St. Dominic's and in the afternoon he went to Brunswick, twenty-five miles away, to do the same at St. John's. Two days later he visited Biddeford, confirmed at St. André's in the morning and later in the day had a conference with the three pastors of this city; still later he crossed the Saco River to inspect the property recently purchased for the first parish in Saco. The next day, Sunday, he was at Gardiner, about a fifty mile drive, where he blessed the new St. Joseph's church. This was a week of light travelling, always within range of his residence.

On Thursday, July 8, the bishop preached at the solemn reception of sodalists at St. Dominic's. Two days later he went to Lisbon, about twenty-five miles from Portland. Here along the Sabattus River were a series of villages: Lisbon, Lisbon Center, and Lisbon Falls clustered around a variety of mills: saw, paper, wool at the Falls and cotton at Lisbon (called at this time Lisbon Factory). The first mill, in 1874, had attracted Catholic laborers; whereas the French dominated at Lisbon, at the Falls one could find an amalgam of both new and old immigrants: Irish, French, Germans, Poles, Slavs and Greeks, and in 1914 Bishop Walsh had established here the Holy Family parish. There were about 1600 Catholics in the three villages, equally divided between the two parishes. He confirmed a class at St. Ann's at two in the afternoon and at the new parish a few hours later. The bishop always preached at these ceremonies and, if there were need, spoke in English and then in French to the congregation, usually a large one, for these visits were happily anticipated. He returned to Portland that evening, and on Sunday morning (July 11) preached at the cathedral. In the afternoon he confirmed at the cathedral and at St. Joseph's in Deering. The next day, in Portland, he announced the completion of plans for two new constructions in the diocese: an addition to the Catholic Institute in the city that would give them space for ten more classrooms and a new chapel on North Haven, an island in Penobscot Bay. This was another relatively easy week of travelling.

On Thursday, July 15, the start of the third week, he was in South Berwick, the southern end of the state, and after confirming he made a canonical visitation of the parish convent. The next day he attended school exercises at St. Joseph's, in Deering. He rose early Sunday morning and went to the Mother House of the Sisters of Mercy in Deering. Two Sisters were celebrating the golden jubilee of their profession and he was there to celebrate the Mass at six-fifteen and to preach on the happy occasion. He did not have much time to spend with the jubilarians for he had to be in Augusta, a drive of over fifty miles, first to bless the new St. Augustine's church and then, in the evening, confirm at St. Mary's. Tuesday he was in Worcester, attending the commencement at Holy Cross, but he was not free to delay, for he had to be at the Cathedral the next morning to offer Mass for all the boys of St. Aloysius school (it was the feast of St. Aloysius) and to talk to them.

The fourth week started with ceremonies at the cathedral. It was the feast of Corpus Christi and he presided. That afternoon he attended exercises at St. Joseph's Academy. The next day, Friday, he was in Bangor, a long and tiresome journey of 140 miles by train, conferring with the pastors of the city about services for summer visitors along the beautiful Penobscot. After the conference he crossed the river to confirm the children of St. Teresa's in Brewer, but returned that evening to attend the graduation exercises at the Girls' High School. This was the school's first graduation and only a grave reason would have kept him from the affair. The mayor and the chairman of the city's School Board were there and both addressed the overflowing crowd. The bishop reminded the audience and honored guests of the financial assistance Catholics gave the city of Bangor by conducting such schools. He remained overnight to confirm at St. John's, but he was back in Portland for Sunday. It was graduation day for all the Catholic schools in Portland, starting with High Mass in the cathedral.

The bishop preached. Graduation exercises were in the City Hall that afternoon, and both the mayor of Portland and the bishop spoke.

The bishop now started one of his long, busy and arduous trips through three counties: Franklin, Androscoggin, and Oxford in the west central section of the state. On Friday (June 30) he was in Farmington, where one priest attended the parish of St. Joseph's and four missions and five stations. He preached that evening on devotion to the Sacred Heart and the next morning he confirmed a class of twenty. Later in the day he went to Chisholm, ten miles below, bypassed on his way to Farmington, where again he confirmed and preached in French and English. He had plans for the Catholics of Chisholm and he remained there overnight. It was time for the parish to have a school; at Mass the next day, Sunday, July 2, he again spoke in French and English, urging the Catholics to support the project; they did, for not long after this visit St. Rose had three Ursuline Sisters teaching 112 girls and 108 boys. Shortly after Mass the bishop went to Riley Village, one of St. Rose's missions. This was a gala occasion for the Catholics here, for in the diocese's sixty-three years this was the first visit of a bishop. He blessed the new chapel the Catholics had built and then confirmed the children; again he preached in French and English, although the congregation was composed "of many nationalities." He then moved on to Gilbertville, another mission, ten miles away; there the pastor of St. Rose's was waiting to offer Mass. After confirmation the bishop preached in French, Italian and English. He finished at twelve-thirty and was soon on his way by auto (1916 vintage) to Rumford where 123 children were awaiting confirmation.

One can not tell from his journal where he spent the week of July 2. On Thursday he examined six candidates for the diocesan priesthood and on the following Sunday was in Dover, ninety or more miles northeast of Rumford. If he had returned to Portland to examine the candidates (it was unlikely that there were six in this area), he spent the week travelling.

The bishop was now in the center of his vast diocese. Dover was about eighty-five miles due west of Calais and midway between Kittery in the southern extremity of Maine and Fort Kent in the north. He preached at the eight o'clock Mass in St. Thomas' and then proceeded northward by car to Brownville Junction. This was one of St. Thomas' missions, twenty-two miles away, and a new chapel was ready to be blessed and dedicated to St. Francis Xavier; after the blessing of the chapel the sacrament of confirmation was conferred for the first time in this town. A car was waiting for him after the ceremonies to drive him to Dexter, about forty miles southward. A large congregation, many of them Protestants, had gathered in St. Ann's to witness the confirming of eighty-nine persons and to listen to the bishop preach in French and English. It was now late in the day and he spent the night in Dexter.

The next morning he started for Greenville by auto. During the drive of forty-nine miles he passed through many small hamlets and villages. As he approached Monson he was told that one Catholic family lived in the town. He visited them. This probably was the first visit of a Catholic bishop in Monson. In Greenville, located at the southern end of Maine's largest lake, the magnificent Moosehead, forty miles in length and ten in width, was the Holy Family church, a parish founded by Bishop Walsh in 1912. The pastor had twenty persons ready for confirmation, some of them, no doubt, from his two missions and eight stations. The parish territory was larger than that of some dioceses, for it included not only the towns on both sides of the lake but extended to Onawa, ten miles south of Greenville and to Chesnuncook, twenty miles above the lake. Again a large congregation with their Protestant friends were on hand to listen to sermons in French and in English. Later in the day he visited the mission at Mt. Kineo Lodge and remained there for a day.

He continued the journey on Thursday, July 13. His destination this day was Forks Village, twenty-seven miles southeast of Greenville, where the Kennebec joins the Dead River, and to get there he travelled by boat, train and car. He decided that a chapel was needed in this town and expressed the hope it would be constructed before the year ended. The Forks, today, is the starting point of one of Maine's finest all-river vacation trips, one that takes the vacationist by Bingham, Norridgewock, Madison, Skowhegan, Waterville, Augusta, Randolph and Richmond into Merrymeeting Bay where the Androscoggin joins the Kennebec. Bishop Walsh was not vacationing. But he did drive along the Kennebec stopping first at Caratunk where another chapel was in the planning stage and then to Bingham where a chapel had been completed. At Caratunk the reception was small but warm. He was received in the Catholic home where Mass had been said whenever a priest visited for the past thirty years and all the Catholics in the neighborhood were there to welcome him. He spoke to them on the gift of Faith and about the new chapel they would soon have. "All were very much rejoiced and eager to begin." He left Bingham for Madison, timing his trip so that he could get the Portland train there at six-fifteen. He arrived in Portland the next morning. He rested on Saturday.

The bishop now spent a few weeks in Portland making canonical visitations, attending solemn professions, and attending to diocesan affairs. In the second week of August he was off on another confirmation tour to the north.

East Millinocket and Millinocket were first on the schedule. He was now again as far north as Moosehead Lake, but fifty or more miles eastward and in Penobscot County. He spent the day, Wednesday, August 9, in these two parishes, and then drove northward forty miles to Patten, a town in Aroostook County. Thursday was a busy day as he visited Benedicta and St. Paul's in Patten and St. Agnes' in Island Falls, both missions of St. Benedict's, and arrived in Houlton in the afternoon to confirm at Houlton and to visit the Madigan Hospital. The confirmation ceremony in Patten was the first in the town's history. The Catholics here and at Island Falls needed a priest more closely located and a few years later (in 1920) they were detached from St. Benedict's and a resident priest assigned to Island Falls. He remained overnight in Houlton and the next morning officiated at the marriage of James Madigan. That afternoon, Saturday, he drove to Van Buren, more than seventy miles away. He had reached the St. John River. He confirmed in Van Buren Sunday morning and in Grand Isle in the afternoon.

He now turned back in order to be in Portland for the Feast of the Assumption and to be host to Archbishop James J. Keane of Dubuque, Iowa, who was coming for a week's visit. On his return he confirmed groups in both churches in Caribou and in the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Presque Isle. At the latter place he boarded the 6 p.m. train for Portland that was scheduled to arrive the next morning at four. During this week's trip through Aroostook County he had travelled 757 miles, by train or car, had confirmed in eleven churches and had preached on thirteen occasions.

Travel during the next three weeks was light. Bishop Harkins of Providence joined Archbishop Keane as Walsh's guests during the first week (August 15-22), but even so he went to Orono, seat of the University of Maine, on Sunday to talk on Catholic education, and attended the funeral of a beloved pastor, John P. Nelligan, in Bangor the next day. He spent much of the next week (August 23-30) in his office and then started a four day journey that took him first to Bingham on the Kennebec above Norridgewock where he blessed St. Peter's, a mission of St. Sebastian's in Madison; the Catholics were increasing here and Bingham would soon (in 1920) be a parish with its own missions. Bar Harbor, where he gave final approval for a new convent, Waterville, where he attended the profession of some Ursuline nuns, and Fairfield were the other places visited on this trip. He was back in Portland on the first of September.

For the next ten days he remained close to Portland. The schools opened on September 8 and there was much work to do in preparation for this event. On Sunday, September 3, he preached at the cathedral on Catholic education and schools. He did, however, go to Lewiston to attend the solemn profession of some Dominican nuns, and he blessed a new chapel (Sunday, September 11) in Kittery where he confirmed and preached as usual. Kittery was ready to be a parish, and the next year St. Raphael's had a pastor. The next day he went to Cushing Island in Casco Bay to make, along with 93 priests, his annual retreat; he was in seclusion until Friday morning. He was now ready to make his second journey to the Madawaska district, but he postponed the start for a few days. He had to be in Philadelphia on Thursday (September 21) for his friend, Father Philip R. McDevitt, who had preached at his consecration, had been appointed Bishop of Harrisburg and was consecrated this day in Philadelphia. It was a hurried trip and he was back in Portland the next morning. He packed his bags again and started that day for Madawaska to cover the parishes omitted during his August trip. He first visited Easton, a mission of Fort Fairfield, to bless a chapel dedicated to St. Patrick, these "faithful people being descendants of a very old settlement of Irish people." He then moved on to Limestone, Fort Fairfield, St. Agatha, St. David, Upper Frenchville, Fort Kent, Daigle, Wallagrass, Eagle Lake, Portage Lake, and Sheridan. From Sheridan he drove by auto to Presque Isle and there took the 5:45 train for Portland. He was back in his residence about 8 o'clock Friday morning, September 30. There still remained a few parishes yet unvisited but they would be covered during the pleasant days of October. The long, fatiguing journeys, however, were over for this year.

On Wednesday, October 18, the Feast of St. Luke, Bishop Walsh celebrated the tenth anniversary of his consecration. Bishop Harkins and Bishop Beaven were there. Bishop McDevitt preached. Oakley C. Curtis, the governor of Maine, Carl E. Milliken, governor-elect, Frederick Hale, United States Senator-elect, Congressman Daniel J. McGillicuddy, Judge Charles L. Donahue, Judge Denis A. Meaher, Wilfred G. Chapman, mayor of Portland, and many other prominent citizens attended the Solemn Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving. Walsh spoke a few words from the sanctuary. He thanked the state and city officials and their predecessors "for their personal and official kind feelings and generous aid towards the great Church I have had the honor to govern and to represent," during the past ten years. My mission and aim, he told them, "was to build up, or strengthen or beautify, under the grace and blessing of God, the kingdom of God in this State of Maine, namely the Catholic Church. It is not for me to speak forth what has been done." There was no need. His listeners were well aware of what he had done.

6. THE END OF A BUSY LIFE

This was a pace a man approaching sixty could not stand. Not until he had overtaxed his physical constitution did Bishop Walsh adjust his schedule to his declining strength. By then it was too late. Walsh began to realize that he was straining his system in the fall of 1922, after he returned from the Madawaska and Aroostook visitation, a busy nine days. He was fatigued on his return to Portland and was slow in recovering his strength. When he was still tired a few days later he admitted: "Felt the fatigue of my trip north and realize that I attempted too much." Yet he found it difficult to modify his work program. Important problems were pressing for attention and he was now an influential member of the American hierarchy.

During the winter he discovered that he tired easily. Late in February he noted in his journal: "I felt the fatigue of Sunday and evidently cannot keep up my activities on high pressure." On Palm Sunday (March 25) he had a weak spell on arising, "a dizziness, such as never before and unsteady on my feet." He was unable to offer Mass. "I must slow up or down," he told himself, "if I wish to hold on to life some years longer." Early in May he went to Boston for a thorough check; nothing radically wrong was discovered, but he was ordered to slow down considerably. He took a complete rest at Kineo during August and early in September thought he was his old self again. At the September meeting of the National Catholic Welfare Council he was re-elected to the Administrative Committee and even retained chairmanship of the Press and Publicity Department. He had planned to resign this post. Walsh found it difficult to slow down and the fact is that the post-war years had undermined his health and he was reluctant to admit it.

His days since the armistice had been heavy with problems and visitors. When in Portland, Judge Donahue, who handled the bequests to the diocese and the acquisitions of new property, and James Cunningham, who constructed most of the new diocesan buildings, were frequent visitors. In Houlton he often had conferences with James Madigan and James Pierce. In Van Buren, Peter Charles Keegan posted him on conditions in northern Maine and the legislature. Consultations with pastors were endless, about parish conditions, purchasing new parish properties, plans for new churches and schools.

Death, too, deprived him of some of his best workers and links with the growth of the diocese under Bacon and Healy. They came frequently during 1922 and 1923. There was Sister Mary Teresa, fifty-seven years a Sister of Mercy and the first Reverend Mother of the Sisters in Maine. She was a convert, a convert of the pioneer Manchester group, and after her conversion had come a vocation. She had spent fifty of those fifty-seven years in Maine and became "one of the most eminent women connected with the order." She died in 1922, and the next year Sister Mary Gertrude, a relative of the Kavanaghs, who had spent fifty-six years as a Sister of Mercy and fifty-two of them in Maine, passed away. Both knew Bacon and were friends of Healy. Pastors with long records of good work since the early years of Healy's episcopacy died: Father Timothy P. Linehan, for thirty-two years pastor of St. Mary's, Biddeford, and "a link with a long past all over

Maine and New England" as Bishop Healy's travelling companion; Father Jeremiah McCarthy, pastor of St. Mary's, Bangor, forty-six years a priest and one of the first ordained by Healy; Joseph P. Ahearn, pastor at Eastport for twenty-six years where he did "two men's work for years;" Father Narcisse R. Charland, who spent forty-three of his forty-seven priestly years in Waterville, an able man who twice was considered for the Portland see. A diocese could ill afford to lose workers of this calibre.

Walsh had frequent consultations with the other suffragan bishops of the Boston archdiocese. When Bishop Harkins died in 1921 he succeeded as the suffragans' spokesman. He was ever exchanging views and information with Bishop William A. Hickey, Harkins' successor in Providence, Bishop John J. Nilan of Hartford, Bishop Daniel F. Feehan of Fall River, Bishop John J. Rice of Burlington. They looked to Walsh for guidance; he was, according to one of them, "the light and glory of Catholicity in New England." In the post-war years he became an influential voice in the American hierarchy, channeling his influence through the newly organized National Catholic Welfare Council. The Catholic Church in the United States had ceased to be a missionary land in 1908, a few years after he was elected bishop. Now after the war it started to organize its many diverse and disjointed activities through the NCWC. At the first annual meeting of the hierarchy in 1919 the National Catholic War Council had been converted into the National Catholic Welfare Council.

Walsh's contribution to the Church in America will be found in the part he played in developing this agency of the American hierarchy, and when the history of the NCWC is written he will be given considerable credit for its survival during the critical year of 1922. There was some opposition to the Council from some bishops on the score that it threatened to invade the bishop's jurisdiction in his diocese, and, although in the minority, they were sufficiently influential to secure a decree from Rome abolishing the agency. Walsh was a member of the Administrative Board and much of his time during the spring, summer and fall of 1922 was spent in reversing the decree so that, with minor modifications (such as the change in its name from Council to Conference) and clearer demarcations of its functions, the NCWC was given the opportunity to become the important clearing-house of information on Catholic activities and a common agency of the hierachy in promoting the welfare of Catholics and the Catholic Church in the United States. He was elected Chairman of the Press and Publicity Department, a post he claimed he was ill-suited to hold but was obviously suggested by his success in obtaining publicity for diocesan affairs in Maine and Boston newspapers. He himself had prepared many of these articles and they appeared under his name. This, of course, lessened the risks of being misquoted and improved the chances for a good spot in the paper. But some of the publicity during his late years was unsought.

The tide was against him during these years. The recurrence of nativism forced him to oppose measures and the men behind the measures and involved him in controversies. Generally it was some aspect of the school problem. To a degree he was responsible for some of the measures he was now compelled to oppose. For years he had pointed to the dangers to the public commonweal from an education divorced from religious training and had emphasized the good done by the Catholic schools. They were, he insisted, Catholic public schools; to the end he insisted on this, and an article he had with care prepared on the "Catholic Public School System of Maine" had appeared in the *Lewiston Journal* on January 2, 1923. Many non-Catholics agreed with him that education should not be divorced from religious training. It was difficult to remedy the situation, but some proposals were made. In 1921 a bill was introduced to make bible reading mandatory in public schools. Whatever the good intentions of the sponsors, this could easily become a continual source of trouble, especially since the edition of the Bible was not specified.

Bishop Walsh successfully opposed the bill. During the next two years a group of ministers advocated the introduction of the Gary plan for religious education in the Portland public schools. The Gary plan of education had been declining in popularity by this date, but it did make provisions for religious training through a released time program. It had been introduced in a few New York City schools where only the Catholic parishes used the opportunity for catechetical instruction and where some had raised the cry of violation of the separation of the church and state doctrine.

Walsh did not oppose the introduction of the Gary plan for religious education of public school children. But he did not think it was a practical solution to the problem. He told its sponsors that he himself favored the Netherlands plan whereby the state supported denominational schools. He thought the Gary plan, if adopted, would within ten years develop into the Netherlands plan. If he wanted to kill the plan in Portland he could not have devised a better weapon. For the demand in Maine at this time for an amendment to the state constitution prohibiting aid to sectarian schools and institutions was increasing and the pressure on the legislators to approve the amendment was intense and widespread. Walsh spent the last years of his life fighting this amendment. The bill was debated at length during the winter and spring of 1923 and Walsh was frequently in conference either in Portland or Augusta. It received majorities from both houses in its first reading but then failed to receive the needed two-thirds majority. The lower house supported the amendment ninety to forty-nine, a few short of the required majority; a week later (March 29) the Senate also defeated the bill. But immediately another bill with the same objective was introduced. This, too, was defeated. That ended the struggle for the current session, but it was obvious that the battle would be renewed.

The Klan, in the meanwhile, was active. Governor Baxter, late in 1922, announced that he would do his best "to see to it that no invisible government such as the Ku Klux Klan obtains a foothold in our state," but he could not prevent the members from stirring up trouble. On Sunday, March 18, 1923, Walsh visited all the parish churches in Portland and praised the Catholics "for their admirable patience, silence, control and nobility during the past few weeks when the K.K.K. was insulting the Church and the K. C." The situation was tense in Bangor this week-end, too, and rumors of trouble were rife, according to a newspaper report, because of a talk of one of the Klan's spokesmen in Brewer. There was not much parading by the Irish on St. Patrick's day in Maine in 1923.

There is no doubt that these problems contributed to the break in Walsh's health. The year 1923 was, he confided to his journal, "perhaps the hardest, most trying year of my life." Yet it had been, despite the failing health and annoyances of many kinds, "a good year in many ways." His last act of this year was the appointment of Father Clarence Coughlan as chancellor of the diocese.

Bishop Walsh died Monday, May 12, 1924, in his Portland residence four days after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage and less than two weeks after his return from Rome. He had decided, now that he had been ordered to curtail his schedule, to make his *ad limina* visit during the severe winter months. Without a companion he had sailed on the *Majestic* February 2 and he would have returned earlier had not the news that Archbishop Patrick Hayes and Archbishop George Mundelein of Chicago had been made Cardinals been announced while he was in Rome. Hayes was his personal friend and so he remained to attend the consistory and witness the presentation of the red hats to the new American Cardinals. Hayes asked him to make the return trip with him, but Walsh decided he would get more rest by travelling alone and at his leisure. Besides, he wanted to gather some material on Father Rasle in France; he was still working on the plans for the bicentenary of the missionary's death. He landed in New York on April 30 and went to Washington to attend a NCWC meeting. He was home Monday evening, May 5, in apparent fair health. The following Thursday, at breakfast, he suffered an attack. He rallied, however, and continued to improve during the next few days, but death came suddenly Monday, May 12.

The funeral was Friday, May 16. All the bishops of New England, with Cardinal O'Connell presiding, attended. Cardinal Hayes was also present. Bishop McDevitt, who had preached at Walsh's consecration and at the tenth anniversary, delivered the eulogy. All agreed that his death was untimely. It came, said Bishop McDevitt, when "he was best able to render splendid service to the cause of Christ, not only in this State of Maine, but throughout the length and breadth of the United States." Bishop Walsh's contribution to the Catholic Church in Maine during his less than eighteen years had been remarkable, indeed.

9

THE LAST QUARTER OF THE FIRST CENTURY
1925-1955

MONSIGNOR Michael C. McDonough was appointed to administer the diocese until a successor to Walsh was named. More than a year passed before the vacancy was filled, and then John Gregory Murray, auxiliary bishop of the Hartford diocese, was transferred to Portland. He remained there six years and was then transferred to the archdiocese of St. Paul's after the death of his friend, Archbishop Austin Dowling. Joseph Edward McCarthy succeeded Murray in Portland. Their years in Maine cover the last quarter of the diocese's first century and their lives followed a remarkably similar pattern.

1. TWO BOYHOOD FRIENDS BECOME BISHOPS OF PORTLAND

Both were Irish-Americans and natives of Waterbury, Connecticut. McCarthy, the older of the two by a few months, was born on November 14, 1876, and Murray the following February 26. They were boyhood friends and both attended and were graduated from Crosby High, a school with a fine academic tradition. They selected the same college for advanced studies: Holy Cross. The expenses of a college education in the 1890's was a strain on the budgets of families considered in comfortable circumstances. Neither family could make that claim. Years later, when he was Archbishop of St.

Paul's, Murray told a group of newspaper boys, how the pennies from his paper route helped him to start his college education. He borrowed a dime from his mother to start his route and by the time he had completed his high school senior year, he had parlayed the dime into a fund of two hundred dollars.

Although the younger of the two, Murray started his college career first, entering Holy Cross in the fall of 1894. Evidently he had managed one or more double promotions during his school years, and his college entrance examinations were so impressive he was allowed to enter the rhetoric class, the second year at college. He won laurels as a speaker when the debater, not the athlete, was the campus hero; his scholastic grades set a new high in the college's history. Murray, all conceded, was brilliant. McCarthy was at college with him but not a classmate; he, too, had a high scholastic rating when he graduated in 1899. Both had decided on their future work before graduation day: the priesthood.

Murray was in Louvain when his friend graduated from college. He first attended the American College at Louvain (1897-1898) and then the University of Louvain. Again he won high academic honors. Louvain was proud of this young American and gave proof of it in 1927 on the occasion of the grand celebration of the quincentenary anniversary of the granting of the university charter. Murray, then Bishop of Portland, was among the select group honored by the university with a doctorate of theology, thus lending international recognition to his reputation for learning. It was no small honor.

Murray was ordained at Louvain April 14, 1900. Three years later, on July 4, 1903, McCarthy became a priest. He, too, had studied in Europe. After graduating from Holy Cross, he was sent to Catholic University for graduate studies in philosophy and then went to St. Sulpice in Paris for theology. Both returned after ordination to Hartford for work in their diocese. After a brief assignment to parish work and the classroom, first as a curate in New Haven and then professor of the classics at St. Thomas' Minor Seminary (1901-1903), Murray was assigned to administrative work and this became his daily fare thereafter. He was appointed chancellor of the Hartford diocese in 1903 and he retained that office until 1919. He was then selected to be auxiliary bishop to John Joseph Nilan, Bishop of Hartford.

McCarthy's years as a priest were devoted more to the classroom and pastoral care. He followed Murray to St. Thomas', joining the faculty the year Murray left for the chancery. He remained there for five years; from the classroom he went to the parish and he spent twenty years at Norwick, Wauregan, and Moosup, parishes that were in areas where the French-Canadians had settled. These were parishes that called for pastors with facility in the French language, and his long experience in these parishes naturally recommended him for a diocese that was bilingual. He then returned to the seminary as its vice-president and he was there when appointed successor to his friend in Portland. He must have felt that he had long walked in the shadow of Murray, but he would be the first to admit that was no small feat.

Bishop Murray was transferred to Portland May 29, 1925. He was not unknown to the diocesan clergy, for in 1924, when Bishop Walsh was in Rome, he had presided at the cathedral ceremonies during Holy Week and again during the interregnum he had returned to Portland to perform the same ceremonies. A few weeks later the Catholics of Maine were posted on their bishop by a letter from the Administrator that gave a sketch of his life; he was, they were told, as keenly interested in the welfare and education of them and their children as was their late bishop. The date for the installation was October 12.

After bidding farewell to his parishioners and friends in Hartford on Sunday, October 11, Bishop Murray took the train for Portland, arriving that evening. His winning ways were soon recognized. When the newsmen heard he had arrived in Portland, they went to his residence for interviews and photographs. He readily assented. He was, they reported in the next day's paper, "as affable and friendly as if he had been here all his life; not shy, but reserved in manner, a ready smile and laugh, a merry twinkle in the eyes . . . ." In their first meeting the newsmen caught what impressed most people: his friendliness and informality. He looked younger than his forty-eight years, was energetic, and intelligence and kindness were written large on his round, full face with its high brow. From the start he was on friendly terms with all; he had a way of making friends and easing tensions; he needed no formal introduction to start a conversation, required no appointment to hear a request. New and unfinished business would be handled on the sidewalk or on the street car (he seldom travelled by automobile) as well as in his office.

He was greeted and welcomed formally and editorially. After the installation, an impressive ceremony with Cardinal O'Connell presiding and many bishops attending, he dined with his clergy and pleased them by announcing that Monsignor McDonough, Walsh's Vicar-General, would continue as his. The next day the *Press Herald* commented on his friendly manners and distinguished appearance and then added that Murray would soon discover that Maine was not Connecticut.

> Compared with other dioceses in this part of the country Maine offers a large field for work but lacks the wealth and the Catholic population which distinguishes many other States. It requires a man of exceptional tact and administrative ability to conduct the affairs of the Catholic Church in this diocese, but Bishop Murray is said to be possessed of the necessary qualifications to measure up to the requirements of the new duties.

Maine was not Connecticut, it is true; indeed, Maine of 1925 was not the Maine of 1900. Although still a state of villages and small cities in the late 1920's and somewhat aloof from the mighty current of industrial and urban life that was radically changing the American way of life, Maine, likewise, was undergoing important changes. On the surface she appeared to be largely homogeneous, yet nearly twenty percent of her adult population in 1930 was foreign born and 175,337 of the total population, 797,488, were Catholics. The annual increase in population was slight; from 768,014 in 1920 to 797,488 in 1930, to 847,266 in 1940, to 930,000 in 1950. The native-born population had remained virtually stationary since 1900 due to heavy migration to other states. The Catholics, of course, joined the trend, but even so the increase in the number of Catholics was steady: from 175,377 in 1930 to 198,828 in 1940, to 201,979 in 1945, to 236,672 in 1955 when the centenary of the diocese was celebrated.

Maine was still rural in 1930, six out of every ten still living in towns and villages, but the decline was sharp and the trend was to the city or out of state. There was one exception. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Aroostook County reported a 44.7 percent increase in population; this was the only county that could claim a healthy population increase and the Aroostook was a rural area. This was in drastic contrast to the trend in the other rural counties for during the decade of the 1920's alone there had been a 14.6 percent decline in population.

But more disturbing than the declining rural population was the decline of the churches in the rural areas. Authors noticed the decline. To Wallace Nutting in his attractive *Maine Beautiful* (1924) the deterioration of religion was "something not so beautiful." He referred to "one little Maine town" which had "four church edifices but no church organization;" country churches in Maine, he observed, "are largely going backward, and many are not going at all." This change was revealed by a number of surveys made at this time. In 1928 the National Church Comity Conference initiated one year surveys of the status of religion in the states. The survey of Maine, confined to the rural areas and to towns of 5,000 or less, revealed a situation close to religious destitution. It was discovered that during the years of 1916 to 1926, 160 church organizations had vanished, 105 churches had been sold for barns or school houses or torn down, over 100 towns were without a church, 325 churches had "less than 25 members," about 200 small churches could not support a minister. No more than one-tenth of Maine's rural population were members of a Protestant church, a finding that explained why there was no increase in Protestant church membership during this decade. The survey reported only one rural area where conditions were healthy, the communities of northern Aroostook County where all were Catholics and were "well looked after by that Church." Although the survey was concerned with the conditions of the Protestant churches in Maine, a comparison with the Catholic churches was natural. The findings disclosed that:[1]

> While the Protestant churches have shown decreases all along the line, the Roman Catholic churches have shown in ten years an increase of 23% in number of churches and 17% in membership.

Both the federal decennial religious censuses from 1906 to 1936 and the religious survey by the Maine Planning Board in 1935 support the findings of this study.

Although Bishop Murray was grateful to his predecessor for this increase in the number of Catholics and churches in the diocese, the decline of Protestant Christianity must have disturbed him. Catholics could not escape the growing indifferentism to organized religion. How much the Catholics were influenced by the changing climate only another survey would reveal, but one can see his concern over the situation in the campaign against birth control in the diocesan weekly, the *Church World*, and in his charges to the pastors of the diocese on mixed marriages.

One force that strengthened the Catholics of Maine must be mentioned, if only in passing. This was the good influence of Catholics vacationing in Maine. Many of our rural parishes and missions, said one editorial in the *Church World*, "are enabled to carry on during the long winter of some ten months" because of their generous financial help. For this help the diocese was grateful, but their contribution was not limited to finances. "They encourage our small Catholic population by their presence in our midst in such impressive numbers and edify us all by their sturdy faith and manifest devotion."

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[1] Rev. Charles W. Squires, "Religious Destitution in Maine," *The Missionary Review of the World*, LIX (March 1936) 137-138. See also Rev. Robert Watson, "New England a Home Mission Field," *ibid.*, LIX (February 1936), 87-89, for a report indicating similar trends.

What the editor had in mind can be illustrated by one case history. At the turn of the century there may have been a few Catholics residing in the community of York Beach; three or four would be a generous estimate. But there was a spacious Catholic church there in 1901. This was the work of a small group of Catholics who spent their summers there and wanted a church where they could attend Mass on Sunday and share to some extent parish life during the summer months. The pioneers of the group had started to vacation at York Beach in the 1890's and found it difficut, at times impossible, to get to Portsmouth for Sunday Mass. They requested that Mass be offered at York Beach and one or the other offered to make one of the rooms in their homes a chapel. The request was granted and the first Mass celebrated there (in modern times, at least) was in 1896. For a while, a room in the larger residence of a Protestant physician served as a chapel. The opportunity to attend Mass brought more Catholics to York Beach each summer. They now wanted a church of their own. This, too, was granted, and a few of the well-to-do vacationists offered to advance the needed money to start construction, an offer was taken by the Catholics on condition that the money was a loan. By August 1901, the church, a much larger building than required, was completed and blessed by Bishop O'Connell. The Star of the Sea church became the summer parish of these Catholic vacationists and their choir, directed by a well-known musician, became one of the attractions of the resort. By 1949 there were sufficient Catholic residents in York Beach to warrant Sunday Mass during the year. In 1951, when the jubilee of the church was celebrated in a grand manner, the average Sunday attendance at the five Masses was about 2500. Thus did Catholic vacationists from many states complete the construction of churches from Eastport to Kittery started by the immigrant Irishmen travelling down the coast of Maine.

Maine Catholics had something to give to the vacationists, too. Some paid for their vacations by publishing their impressions of Maine Catholics. One visitor was deeply impressed by what she found. The town is not identified, but it was a small one of less than a hundred families and no more than twelve of these were Catholic. Yet there was a Catholic church in the town and on Sundays during the summer there would be two hundred at the Mass. This particular summer the visitor remained after the vacation period and became one of the regular parishioners. On the first Sunday of October the pastor announced that the church would be closed for the winter and that Mass hereafter would be in the rectory. The day for the closing of the church – a parish affair with all cooperating – was announced. The faith of these few resident Catholics deeply impressed the visitor. "I discovered," she wrote, "that Catholics in Maine live the life of the Church with an old-fashioned simplicity that does not exist, I think, in many parts of our country."[1] Maine Catholics had, then, something to give to the visitors, but one wonders how long the strong faith of these twelve families would have survived without the impact of the two hundred summer vacationists who made the little Catholic church of the village the important church during the summer months.

2. OMNIA MEA TUA

Bishop Murray remained in Portland only six years but they were busy and pleasant ones. He was soon acquainted with all his parishes. He began to visit and confirm shortly after installation and within two months he had visited more than forty of them. The number of children and adults in

[1] Mary Kiely, "Yankee Church Down East," *Catholic World,* 168 (March 1949), 442-447.

the Confirmation classes pleased him, and in his first pastoral letter, dated December 24, 1925, he expressed the hope that he would find the same impressive numbers in the remaining parishes which would be visited, he promised, next spring and summer. He liked to travel and his journeys were not restricted to Maine. Like Walsh, he was a member of the Administrative Committee of the NCWC, lending prominence to the diocese as the chairman of the legal department. This work called for trips to Washington and other cities. His contacts within and outside the diocese were wide and he was called upon to use them in 1931 when Catholic University began a drive for funds to expand its faculties and departments and he was appointed vice-chairman of the special gifts committee that was expected to raise a million dollars. He had a way of collecting and disposing of money.

There was considerable expansion in the diocese during the six years. More than thirty parishes were established; the number of churches with resident priests increased from 95 in 1924 to 126 in 1931, the total number of churches from 168 to 183, and the number of priests working in the diocese, including the religious, from 172 to 216. All this called for considerable construction. When Murray arrived in Portland money was plenty and credit was easy. Indeed, since the Church was an attractive investment, bankers were anxious to make loans to pastors for construction, and the pastors were given a free hand to borrow. The beautiful St. Joseph's in the Deering section of Portland and the large and modern high school in Bangor were among the major construction of these six years. The Bangor school had been planned by the two pastors of the city, Father Thomas J. Nelligan of St. John's and Father Martin A. Clary of St. Mary's; When Clary died January, 1927, the Reverend Timothy H. Houlihan, his successor, continued the cooperation of the two parishes to complete the project. The school was dedicated as a memorial to Father John Bapst by Murray and was opened for the boys and girls of Bangor and neighboring parishes in the fall of 1928. It was the equal of any high school in the state and was staffed by the Sisters of Mercy and diocesan priests; later, in 1933, the Xaverian Brothers replaced the priests.

The John Bapst High School compensated to a degree for the loss of Maine's only Catholic college for men. St. Mary's in Van Buren closed as a college the year construction started on the Bangor school. The college had not expanded as expected and its future had been discussed frequently during Walsh's last years. There was some talk during 1923 about transferring the college to southern Maine, but this suggestion was strenuously opposed by leading Catholic laymen who thought the future of Van Buren was closely linked with the college. Bishop Walsh promised the Van Buren delegation that no definite decision would be made for a year, but before the year expired he himself had died and Bishop Murray accepted the inevitable. It was decided to close the college and retain the high school. Maine now had only one Catholic college, St. Joseph's in Portland, a girls' college that had opened in 1915; during the centenary year the college officials announced plans for expansion on a new site in Standish, on the shores of Sebago Lake. The steady increase in the parochial school system also helped to counterbalance the loss of the college. The number of pupils in parish schools increased from 19,137 to 23,290 during the six years of Murray's residence in Maine.

The diocese also acquired its own weekly journal during these same years. Bishop Murray came from a diocese that long had had one of the best Catholic weeklies, the *Catholic Transcript*, and he wanted one that would keep the Catholics of Maine in touch with Catholic events in the state and nation and in the world at large. The first issue of the *Church World* appeared on Friday, July 18, 1930, an eight-page, folio size (in 1933 a tabloid format was adopted), journal that was edited by Father John F. Conoley, pastor of the Christ the King parish in Hebron. Murray found time to contribute to its pages, probably some of the editorials, for they were well written, and the journal on its first anniversary elicited from the *Catholic Transcript* the comment that it had "taken its place among the strong Catholic newspapers of the United States."

Murray was devoted to the needy and the unfortunate. His own flock was, of course, his primary concern. In one of his first letters to the pastors of the diocese he told them that the sick should be visited at least once a day. This was the duty of the priest who administered the sacrament and it endured until the person recovered health or succumbed to the illness. One of his last projects in the diocese was the founding of the Cheverus Dental Clinic in Portland for the Catholic children; the clinic, conveniently located on Free Street, was well appointed and under the direction of a competent doctor.

He was always ready to cooperate in good causes. Although his own diocese needed whatever money that could be spared, he strongly urged the Catholics of Maine to support the Red Cross drive in early 1931 for $10,000,000 for relief of the mid-West drought stricken area. He found that others cooperated in return. When the Catholics of Brunswick were building St. Charles', a neat, English style church, President Kenneth C. M. Sills of Bowdoin College offered them the use of the college chapel and the offer was accepted. The church was dedicated late in January 1931, and Sills attended the Mass and heard Murray express his thanks and those of the pastor and parishioners to Bowdoin for its kind cooperation.

One incident marred Murray's six pleasant years in Maine. He was charged by the *New Republic* (July 4, 1928) with meddling in politics and joining forces with the power interests and Republican machine of the state to eliminate the progressive elements in the party. This charge came after the Maine primaries in which Governor Owen Brewster, aspiring to be the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, was defeated by the incumbent, Senator Frederick Hale. Murray's ostensible reason for opposing Brewster, according to the New York weekly, was the failure to appropriate a satisfactory sum of money for the reconstruction of the church and convent on the Passamaquoddy Indian reservation, which had been destroyed by fire; his real but unrevealed reason, the readers were told, was Brewster's support of the proposed amendment to the state constitution prohibiting state aid to private and parochial schools. It would have been surprising if the Catholic bishop of Portland spoke in favor of any candidate supporting such a proposal. But it is equally surprising to read that Bishop Murray joined forces with power interests and Republican machine to defeat any candidate, for he had followed a clear policy of neutrality in partisan politics and had even abandoned his predecessor's practice of appearing before legislative committees in Augusta and municipal meetings in Portland.

One would expect the *Press Herald* and *Evening Express* of Portland to exploit Bishop Murray's opposition to Governor Brewster, for these two papers were strongly committed to the governor's defeat. They blasted away at Brewster and they gave headlines to the serious charges against him by former Governor Percival P. Baxter, charges they considered "thoroughly creditable." But there was no mention of any statement by the Catholic bishop of Portland. What, then, was behind the *New Republic's* statement?

Early in 1927 fire destroyed the church and convent of the Sisters of Mercy on the Passamaquoddy reservation. The Sisters retired to Eastport and at great inconvenience continued to conduct the school for the Indians. The state was obliged to provide a house of worship for the Indians, and Bishop Murray wanted both the church and convent to be fire-proof buildings. That would be costly, but under the conditions on the reservation there could be no objections to the expense. Sixteen months later, in June 1928, the Indians were still without a church and the Sisters without a convent. It was clear by then that most of the money for the construction, about $60,000, would have to be raised by a diocesan collection. In a letter, dated June 11, 1928, to the pastors of the diocese, Murray appointed Sunday, June 24, as the day for the collection. He related the reasons why the collection was necessary. What he related was common knowledge: how the Indians had asked the state to appropriate $20,000 from the Indian fund, in addition to the $6,000 insurance money, for the new building; how the legislature had referred the matter to the Governor's Council; how the chaplain of the Indians had interviewed the members of the Council "and was assured that they were practically unanimous in their disposition to allow" the requested amount; how after many months of waiting only $6,000 had been appropriated. It is clear that the bishop was disappointed by the delay and the niggardly sum. To provide a decent church for the Indians and an adequate home for the Sisters, he was compelled to call on "the charity of the good people of the diocese." How this letter affected the outcome of the primary elections is difficult to see. It reported what was already known by the Catholics of Maine; there was no reference to the elections; it was ignored by the two Portland papers that were out to defeat the governor. The results of the election would have been the same if the letter had been written in July. The letter would have been somewhat different, however, if it had been delayed.

A few weeks later, no doubt in response to the bishop's letter, the State Auditor explained that the ready money at the disposal of the Indian fund did not allow for an appropriation of $20,000. Bishop Murray, in another letter dated July 10, 1928, reporting the results of the collection ($8,679.26) and announcing the necessity of another collection before October 1, acknowledged that under those circumstances the refusal of the requested sum was reasonable. He had been under the impression that what the Indians had requested was available. Bishop Murray did not bother to add that many others were under the same impression, among them the members of the Governor's Council. It seems strange that they were willing to appropriate money that did not exist. And it must have occurred to many that the state could have in 1928 committed itself to annual appropriations that would provide for a decent church for the Indians. But 1928 was an important presidential election year and a commitment of that nature might not have been politically wise.

The Republicans won the September election in what was called a landslide, and it was generally conceded by the political commentators that this was a sure omen of Smith's defeat by Herbert Hoover, in the November elections. Two years later, in the 1930 state elections, it was a different story; the gubernatorial candidates were the same, Democratic Edward C. Moran, Jr., of Rockland, and the Republican governor, William Tudor Gardiner, but the 82,000 majority of 1928 had been reduced to 16,000. The commentators differed sharply in interpreting the significance of the decline of the Republican vote, but no one implicated Bishop Murray. Some writers minimized the influence of the depression; Maine, wrote the Washington correspondent for the *New York Evening Post,* was on the whole "more prosperous than most of the States. It has not been hit by the drought, and the tariff has aided its farmer." Murray found little evidence of prosperity.

It was becoming more and more difficult to raise money for the diocesan charities and he was compelled to borrow to keep institutions like the Holy Innocents for foundlings, the St. Elizabeth's Home for orphan girls, St. Louis' Home for orphan boys, St. Joseph's Home for the aged, and the diocesan hospitals functioning. There was a sharp decrease in the 1930 charities drive, not one-half the money needed for current expenses; by the end of the year he had borrowed nearly $50,000 to keep them open. Many parishes, too, were suffering hardships. In the fall of 1931 he organized a relief committee in every parish, a move that is a good example of his concern for the unfortunate and his ability to organize. The pastor was the permanent chairman and he had five assistants who directed the raising of money, relief of the homeless, relief of destitute families, relief of institutions, and the unemploment problems. Each parish had its own fund that was separately administered. Each parish or local committee was directed to discover individual and family needs by a thorough investigation of the parish territory. To avoid duplication and confusion the parish committee cooperated with other public and private agencies of relief.

While the parish committees were busy organizing and operating the relief programs news arrived, early in November 1931, that Bishop Murray was transferred to the archdiocese of St. Paul. It was a deserved promotion, all admitted, but the transfer was genuinely regretted. His preparation for departure was interrupted by one farewell testimonial after another; it seems every group and organization wanted to sponsor some tribute. It is doubtful that the bishop himself realized until this hour how deeply loved and esteemed he was. The touching sincerity of these farewells, the manner in which men and women of many creeds and races hastened to honor him, the large attendance at all of them, were, as the Portland papers observed, a revelation of the hold he had on the hearts of people of Maine. Only the tribute dinner at the Elks Club will be mentioned here. This was a crowded affair and the speakers were many. The Episcopal Bishop Benjamin Brewster spoke about Murray's contribution to social service and rehabilitation work in Portland and Maine; the Reverend Ralph Stoody, president of the Church Federation of Portland, praised his spirit of cooperation and his work in easing the religious prejudices of the state; the Reverend Morris H. Tuck hailed him as the "man who has done more than anyone" else in removing religious prejudices from the contemporary scene. Murray was visibly affected by these words. He told them that Portland had spoiled him by its kindnesses, that he did not want to go away, that he asked that the decision to transfer him be reconsidered, that now he had no choice and was leaving with many regrets.

Archbishop Murray was installed at St. Paul's on January 27, 1932. A tremendous crowd packed the Union Station in Portland to see him off. The *Commonweal,* reporting the transfer, managed to capture the feelings of the people:

> He leaves a grateful and affectionate flock in the important bishopric of Portland, Maine, and those who will come to know him in his new important post, will find him a brilliant speaker and a patron especially of music, besides a dignitary of the Church who will rule wisely and inspire an active love for the things of God.

Mea Omnia Tua was the motto on his episcopal coat-of-arms; all mine are thine. John Gregory Murray lived by that motto.[1]

3. THE LAST YEARS OF THE FIRST CENTURY

Monsignor McDonough again assumed the duties of Administrator of the diocese. Ill health, however, compelled him to resign before an appointment was made, and Father George Johnson, Rector of the Cathedral since 1922, was named in his place on April 4, 1932. News that Joseph E. McCarthy had been selected as the new bishop of Portland came in May. Before a date for the consecration could be set, he had to consult with John B. Peterson, Auxiliary Bishop of Boston, who had at the same time been appointed to the Manchester see as successor of Bishop George A. Guertin. A conflict of dates had to be avoided. The installation of Bishop Peterson, it was decided, would take place first. Bishop McCarthy would then be consecrated in the Portland Cathedral on August 24. His friend, Bishop Maurice F. McAuliffe, who had succeeded Murray as the Auxiliary Bishop of Hartford, was asked to be consecrator, assisted by Bishop Nilan and Bishop Peterson. Archbishop Murray was invited to preach. The details of the consecration ceremony completed, McCarthy visited his alma mater, Holy Cross, to prepare himself in the solitude of a retreat for the burdens of an office he had tried to avoid. Years later, when those burdens had broken his health and had constrained him to retire, he confided to his successor that he had pleaded to escape the heavy duties of a successor of the Apostles and had finally accepted when told he should defer to the Vicar of Christ.

[1] Murray died at St. Paul October 11, 1956, a few weeks short of his silver jubilee as the Archbishop of St. Paul. Those who knew him well spoke of his unfailing courtesy and saintly character.

Bishop McCarthy was no longer a young man when asked to exchange the quiet routine of directing seminarians towards the priesthood for the task of directing a diocese burdened with debt. He was tall, the shock of black hair already streaked with white adding to his height, and he carried his fifty-five years with an agile step. He brought in his contacts with people the kindness and courtesy that a new generation had forgotten. He also brought to the diocese a resurgence of confidence that had been undermined by the deepening depression. In Maine, as elsewhere, people were in need of a leader. There is no denying, wrote the editor of the *Church World,*

> that the instability of our material fortunes had made us timid, nervous, apprehensive; no question but that our individual and collective woes had to some extent deprived us of that assuring sense of spiritual victory which is so necessary a part of the truly Christian mentality.

With a bishop in their presence, the Catholics faced the future with more hope and more courage. Monsignor McDonough agreed to continue as Vicar-General, although his long career in this office under three bishops was nearing its end. He died on April 29, 1933, and was succeeded by Monsignor Johnson.

More than any of his predecessors Bishop McCarthy's activities were restricted to the limits of his diocese. His consecration had made news. The ceremonies had been carried by one of the Portland radio stations, and a widely read columnist, not too well acquainted with the facts and with Catholic ceremonies, had remarked that the station had stolen a beat on other major chains by broadcasting "the induction ceremonies" of the new Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland. This was the first time that the consecration of a bishop had been covered by radio, but a Manchester station had covered the installation of Bishop Peterson a few weeks previously. Thereafter, McCarthy's name seldom appeared in the national news and he had no leading part in the work of the hierarchy. He wanted it that way. His work was in Maine, with the problems sired by the depression and the war that followed.

His major task, and one that demanded his attention the day after his consecration, was the diocesan debt that threatened to ruin the labors of past generation and paralyze the energies of the present and future generations. How well he faced and solved that problem is best told in the eulogy of Bishop McCarthy by his successor, Bishop Feeney:

> The financial burdens that beset this diocese were of such staggering proportion that they would have destroyed a man of lesser strength than that found in the new Bishop. Like the rest of the nation, we in Maine had suffered the pangs of the financial crash and the subsequent depression of the thirties . . . Bishop McCarthy faced a debt situation of nearly five million dollars. We had the properties, we had the good will; we had the fundamental honesty that is based on the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal;" we did not seek relief in new bankruptcy laws, nor did we seek to settle for less than the dollar we borrowed. We knew that the Catholic Church would be here for a long time to come. The men of finance, however, who in good times welcomed the business of the diocese of Portland, were filled with panic. For them, the end of the world was in sight. Like Shylock they must have their money. Bishop McCarthy set to work with calm assurance, and after mature and unhurried deliberation the plan was evolved which bonded the diocese for a period of twenty years, enabling all the banks and individuals who had lent money to the diocese to recover their investment. Nobody lost a cent on the Catholic Church in Maine. It was the determination of the man we lament this morning that gave courage and example to every Catholic in this state and made the diocese of Portland honored and respected in every financial institution interested in sound investment. This we owe to Bishop McCarthy.

He was compelled to move slowly despite the growing pressure on him. He had to have an exact knowledge of the financial conditions of the diocese before any plan could be made, and Rome's approval was needed before the plan became operative. Aided by lawyers and businessmen such as Francis W. Sullivan, Leonard A. Pierce, and John J. Cunningham, and by his diocesan consultors, a survey of the diocese was made. By the time this was completed the bank holiday had been declared and conditions had deteriorated. He discovered that most of the diocesan debt was in demand notes and hence suits could be instituted at any hour; that three-quarters of the debt was owed to banks that had closed and whose depositors were in dire need of their money; that a quarter of a million was owed to a bank that was threatening to sue; that the diocese was paying an average of 5.9 percent interest and without any plan of reducing the debt, a few parishes managing to do so and the others hard pressed to meet the interest payment.

With the assistance and advice of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a plan to refund the debt was drafted and was approved by Rome in the spring of 1935. It was carefully explained to the pastors whose cooperation was essential, for their parishes would be assessed a fixed sum annually for many years. Their cooperation was pledged and the bonds, dated July 1, 1936 and due July 1, 1956, were offered to the public. The bonds were oversubscribed. One could not ask for a stronger letter of approval from the bankers. The bishop, the pastors, and the parishioners quietly proceeded to the grim task of meeting the annual assessments. In his pastoral letter of December 26, 1937, Bishop McCarthy told them that "All our expectations of the success of this Bond Issue are being fully realized." The annual interest had been paid and the principal reduced by $100,000. But he urged the pastors to "operate diligently" so that the annual assessment would be always available at the specific date. He himself operated diligently, too, and by means of refunding in 1938 and another a few years later, the debt was substantially reduced. The hardships and the economies were not without their compensations; there was no little satisfaction in knowing that the huge debt was dwindling year by year and that it would be entirely liquidated by 1963.

The debt problem made heavy demands on the bishop's time during the early years of his episcopacy, curbed the activities of the parishes, and limited construction throughout the diocese. Yet there were twelve new churches constructed under McCarthy by 1948, and in 1940 plans for a new hospital in Portland were announced. Parishes went in strongly for socials and parties: bazaars, lawn parties, field days, teas, concerts, and lectures as convenient means of raising money, but one suspects they developed a parish spirit that would not otherwise have existed. And the bishop was ever alert to the needs of his flock and of the people of Maine. When a fire destroyed the great part of Ellsworth in May 1933, he called for a special collection in every parish to relieve the hundreds suffering from lack of food, shelter, and clothing. The next week, when another fire in Auburn left nearly a thousand homeless, he asked the Catholics of Maine to come to their aid by another diocesan collection. The next year, realizing that the Catholic charitable institutions of Portland could not function properly without help, he initiated a public drive for funds, and the response was so favorable the charity drive became an annual affair. The local press recorded these deeds and the unfortunate ones aided by them were grateful, but the publicity ended there.

He followed his predecessor's policy on proposals before the state legislature, refraining from personal appearances at legislative committees and from public statements. But he, too, would oppose any attack on or weakening of Christian morality, when the occasion demanded it. When, in 1941, a bill extending sterilization of defectives was introduced in the state legislature, Bishop McCarthy condemned the proposal and urged Catholics to express their convictions to their legislators. Maine already had a law permitting the sterilization of defectives when and if released from state institutions; the new bill would extend the permission to persons never committed to institutions. It was a dangerous extension of the power of the state over human life and came when Americans were disturbed by tyrannical rule in European countries. The bill received little support in the legislature and was unanimously defeated in the lower house. But the proposal was sufficient to distress the bishop and in his Eastertide pastoral he urged its defeat.

The annual confirmation trips still remained arduous despite the advantages of the automobile. But in 1940 and thereafter his visits to the St. John Valley gave him many pleasant surprises. These hardy people were showing the rest of Maine how to defeat the depression. Thanks to the introduction of cooperatives the whole Valley, where 30,000 people lived, was humming with activity. He was pleased, too, with the activity of another group which had strengthened him and the diocese during the harsh days of the depression.

Bishop McCarthy introduced the contemplatives into the Catholic life of Maine, and who can assess the good from that one decision? No doubt his predecessors had considered the need but they had not acted, and to this extent the diocese lacked the full Catholic life. To many, among them Catholics, the depression years appeared hardly the opportune time to be concerned with contemplatives. The bishop knew it was the most opportune time. In the fall of 1934 he invited the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood, a congregation of cloistered contemplative nuns, to establish a house in Portland, and when the invitation was accepted the former residence of Judge Putnam on State Street became their convent. He was not satisfied with one group. Later, when he was approaching retirement, he persuaded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to open a house in Waterville. And the Felician Sisters of St. Francis, who staffed the Paine Private Hospital in Bangor that had been purchased in 1947 and renamed St. Joseph's, were a congregation of semi-contemplative Sisters.

To help in the field of education and in parishes came religious orders and congregations of men. The Franciscans settled in Biddeford in 1933 where they opened a high school, a minor seminary for their own members, and eventually a college for men. Another group of Franciscans, refugees from Lithuania, were offered a home in the diocese in 1944, and from their house in Greene worked among the Lithuanians of Maine and other states. The Oblate Fathers purchased the property of the Eastern Maine Methodist Conference Seminary in Bucksport and opened a minor seminary in the fall of 1941.

The following year the Jesuits returned to staff Cheverus High School founded in 1917 by Bishop Walsh and staffed, until the arrival of the Jesuits, by diocesan priests and laymen. Ten years later classes were opened in a model building located on Ocean Avenue made possible by a gift of $500,000. The donor, not a Catholic, stipulated that the Jesuits own and operate the school; Bishop Feeney and his consultors accepted the offer and then deeded the land, purchased and held for such purposes, to the Jesuits, who now own and operate Cheverus High School.

Bishop McCarthy was a sick man and in retirement by then. He was approaching his seventieth year when the World War ended and the burdens of the office for fifteen years had undermined his health, although he was the last, and even then with considerable reluctance, to admit it. The year after the war, on June 22, 1946, Rome gave him an auxiliary bishop to ease the burdens of office and the Catholics of Maine were delighted that the priest selected was from their own diocese. Daniel Feeney was born in Portland September 12, 1894, and as a boy in the grade schools saw and remembered Bishop Healy, Portland's second bishop. He attended the city high school and then entered Holy Cross College in 1913 and remained there two years before starting his studies for the priesthood in Montreal. And in St. James' Cathedral of that city he was ordained by Bishop Georges Gauthier, Auxiliary Bishop of Montreal, in 1921. His work, both as a curate and a pastor, was linked with the education system Bishop Walsh had developed. As a curate of St. Mary's, Orono, he taught in the parochial high school, and a few years later he was appointed superintendent of the diocesan school system, residing with the Cheverus High School faculty on State Street. He was pastor of the parish of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Preque Isle when he was selected as auxiliary bishop.

His consecration was, as Archbishop Cushing noted in his sermon on the occasion, "an important stage in the glorious history of the Catholic Church in the State of Maine." He was the first Auxiliary Bishop in the history of the diocese, and, more worthy of note, he was the first diocesan priest, born in the faith and in Maine, raised to the episcopacy. In time, under God's Providence, he became the seventh Bishop of Portland, the first native of Maine elected to guide the Catholics of Maine. Actually, he was administering the diocese long before he became Bishop of Portland. Bishop McCarthy's health continued to decline and the governing of the diocese was beyond his competence. He was persuaded by the Holy See to retire and allow Bishop Feeney to govern the diocese. Late in July 1948, Bishop Feeney was given the powers of a residential bishop and the diocese of Portland was thereafter under his complete direction. Broken in health, Bishop McCarthy lingered on in retirement until the fall of 1955, but Rome had provided for the uninterrupted administration of the diocese by naming Feeney Coadjutor Bishop with the right of succession March 4, 1952.

When this appointment was announced, the Catholics of Maine were thinking about the approaching centenary. It was fitting that a native of Portland and the first priest of the diocese elected to the Portland see should plan and preside over the centenary celebrations. He thought it better to observe the installation of the first Bishop of Portland rather than the erection of the diocese, and so 1955 was declared the centennial year. The decision was a happy one. In the fall of 1954 Edmund S. Muskie was elected governor of Maine. He was the first Catholic in the history of Maine elected to the state's highest office.[1] One of the pleasant features of the civic observance of the centenary on the evening of November 8 in the Portland City Hall was the greetings of the State extended to the Catholics by the first Catholic elected Governor of Maine and accepted by the first diocesan priest appointed Bishop of Portland.

As one witnessed this event and next day saw the bishops from New England's two archdioceses and nine dioceses gather to thank God for the numberless benefits bestowed on the Catholics of Maine during the past years, it really seemed more than a century ago when Bishop Bacon quietly arrived at old St. Dominic's to be installed as the first Bishop of Portland in the presence of Bishop Fitzpatrick.

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[1] Governor Muskie was reelected in September, 1956 by a plurality of 56,000 votes.

The printed sources on the Catholic Church in Maine are not abundant. For the colonial period and the years when Maine was part of the Boston diocese (1808-1854) *The History of the Archdiocese of Boston* by Robert Lord *et al.* (3 vols., New York, 1944) has been consulted frequently. The "Diocese of Portland" by Edmund J. A. Young in the *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), like most of the diocesan histories of this period, must be used with caution until its information is checked with more reliable sources. The "Diocese of Manchester" by John E. Finan in the same work is, however, a more accurate piece of writing and has been helpful for those years when New Hampshire was part of the diocese of Portland. The best printed source on the diocese is the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* which has been described in the chapter of Bishop Louis S. Walsh, its founder.

The major primary source is, of course, the Portland Diocesan Archives (hereafter, PDA) and they have been used extensively. The annual *Catholic Directory*, the Boston *Pilot*, the Maine newspapers and city directories have been extremely useful.

In the following paragraphs I have listed the literature that has been helpful in writing each chapter, and will, I trust, be helpful to those who wish to read more extensively on the persons and events described. Only a few references have been made to state and local histories. The author became familiar with most of these histories while preparing his study of Edward Kavanagh and a bibliography on Maine will be found in that work.

I. *Catholic Memories from the Colonial Period*

Sister Mary D. Mulvey, O.P., devotes one chapter (pp. 13-20) to colonial New England in her *French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States* (1611-1791), (Washington, 1936). Parkman's account of the St. Croix colony and St. Sauveur mission will be found in *Pioneers of France in the New World* and the labors and journeys of Druillettes in *The Jesuits in North America.* The work of the Capuchins is told by John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655)," in the *Records of the ACHS*, XVII (1916) and XVIII (1917), and by George A. Wheeler, *Castine Past and Present* (Boston, 1896). Besides the two biographies of Rasle mentioned in the text, one by Convers Francis and the other by John Francis Sprague, one will find "The Apostle of the Abenaki" by Henry Schuyler in the *Catholic Historical Review,* I (1910), 164-174 helpful. The impact of King Philip's War on the Maine Indians is covered in *King Philip's War* (New York, 1906), by George W. Ellis and John E. Morris. *Catholicism in New England to 1788* (Washington, 1936), by Arthur J. Riley gives the reader the anti-Catholic atmosphere and attitudes inherited by Maine.

II. *Laying the Foundations: 1783-1818*

Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes in the United States (New York, 1857), by John Gilmary Shea still remains inspiring reading, and *The Abenakis and Their History* (New York, 1866), by Eugene Vetromile gives the reader an understanding of the Maine Indians derived from personal observations of them.

The origins and growth of the Catholic colony in Damariscotta are told in *Edward Kavanagh Catholic Statesman Diplomat from Maine 1795-1844* (Francestown, N. H., 1946), by William L. Lucey, S.J. His article "Two Irish Merchants of New England" in *The New England Quarterly,* XIV (December, 1941) is about James Kavanagh and Matthew Cottrill, founders of the colony.

Madawaska is ably described in Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec, 1920). Details on the first parish in American Madawaska will be found in *Album-Souvenir du Centenaire de la fondation de la Paroisee St-Bruno, Van Buren, Maine 1838-1938,* an excellent parish history. For Edward Kavanagh's study of the district, see *The Acadians of Madawaska, Maine* (Boston, 1902), by the Rev. Charles W. Collins and "Madawaska on the River St. John: New England's Last Frontier," by William L. Lucey, S.J., in *Records of the ACHS,* LX (September, 1949).

III. *Pioneer Priests and Projects*

The best sketch of Father Dennis Ryan is by John E. Kealy in *MCHM,* VIII (May, 1928), 169-186, but this has been corrected and supplemented by information from the Boston archdiocesan archives by Lord. The information on Father Charles Ffrench is scattered. Both Lord and the *MCHM* were helpful. Bishop Healy gives some details in his Centennial address which can be found in *Centennial Celebration An Account of Portland,* ed. by J. T. Hull (Portland, 1886), pp. 131-138. Other sources on Ffrench have been indicated in the text. A good study of Fenwick's colony will be found in *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), by Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, but Lord should be consulted for the bishop's concern about a seminary and a college and their relations with Benedicta.

IV. *The Jesuits in Maine: Second Phase*

There is no study of the Jesuit missions in Maine during the nineteenth century and the literature on Bapst is nearly restricted to the Ellsworth affair. "Out of the Dusk Father John Bapst, S.J.," by Leonard Kolman, S.J., a chapter in *I Lift My Lamp Jesuits in America* (Westminster, Md., 1955) is the most recent and the best available sketch of Bapst with the emphasis on the Ellsworth affair. As the title indicates, "Father John Bapst, S.J., and the 'Ellsworth Outrage,'" in *Historical Records and Studies,* XIV (May, 1920) is limited to the Ellsworth affair. The best material in print on Bapst and his companions will be found in the seven articles that were published in the *Woodstock Letters,* XVII (1888), XVIII (1889), XX (1891) under the title "Fr. John Bapst A Sketch." These articles contain many letters of Bapst which, along with those of his companions, have survived and are preserved in the Maryland Province Archives at Woodstock College. Many of these unpublished letters have been used in this chapter on the Jesuit missions. Since many of the Jesuits assigned to Maine were once stationed at Holy Cross College and the missionaries frequently visited the college, the college archives have helped in establishing many dates and adding some facts about the Maine mission. *The House of Yorke* (1872), a historical novel by Mary Agnes Tincker is an important source on the character of Bapst and his experience in Ellsworth. Its importance is treated in "*The House of Yorke,* A Forgotten Source on John Bapst, S.J.," by William L. Lucey, S.J., in the *Historical Bulletin,* XXXIV (January, 1956), 67-74. The volumes by Shea and Vetromile on the Indians help one to understand Bapst's work among the Abenakis.

V. *Maine's First Catholic Bishop, David William Bacon, 1855-1874*

Printed sources on Bacon are fragmentary. The *MCHM* is the best and the October 1919 issue is devoted mainly to him and his work in Maine. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church,* IV, 535-539, and Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States,* III, 141-152 add but little to what is found in the *MCHM.* One will find references to Bacon in *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey 1810-1885* (New York, 1918), by John Cardinal Farley and in *Forty Years in the United States of America* (New York, 1903), by A. Thebaud, S.J. The background of parish trouble that resulted in Bacon's pastorate in Brooklyn is given by Thomas F. Meehan, "Pioneer Times in Brooklyn," *Historical Records and Studies,* II, Part I (1900), 172-191, and one will find sketches of Farnan and Bacon in *A Page of Church History in New York St. John's, Utica* (n. d.), by J. S. M. Lynch. In the PDA the "Family Record Redmond & Bacon," a record book kept by the bishop, supplied information on his family and relatives, and his "Memorandum" book supplied data on the priests in the diocese.

For the work of the Sisters of Mercy *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy* is invaluable. Volume IV is devoted to their work in the Americas and there are a number of chapters on their work in the diocese of Portland. More information will be found in *The Sisters of Mercy in the United States* (New York, 1929), by Sister M. Eulalia Herron, and *The Sisters of Mercy Historical Sketches 1831-1931* (New York, 1931), by Sister M. Josephine Gately. *Supplementary Manual* (New York, 1931) should be consulted along with the latter volume.

For the Second Baltimore Council and the Vatican Council, see *Sermons Delivered During the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, . . . and an Introductory Notice* (Baltimore, 1866), and Raymond J. Clancy, C.S.C., "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXVIII (1937), 7-135. *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding* (New York, 1873), by J. L. Spalding has sections on both councils.

VI. *James Augustine Healy*

Bishop Healy: Beloved Outcaste (New York, 1954), by Albert Foley, S.J., provides us with the needed biography of Portland's second bishop. For Healy's position on the Knights of Labor, secret societies and other national problems one should consult Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, 1949), *The Path I Trod The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly,* ed. by Harry J. Carman (New York, 1940), Fergus MacDonald, *The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States* (New York, 1946), John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921* (2 vols., Milwaukee, 1952). *An Album of the Attorneys of Maine with a Portrait and Brief Record of the Life of Each,* ed. by E. C. Bowles (Bethel, Maine, 1902), gives the Catholics in the legal profession during Healy's episcopacy. A contemporary view of the impact of the French-Canadians in Maine will be found in Egbert C. Smyth, "The French-Canadians in New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, 1892). The correspondence and diaries of Charles McCarthy, Jr., in the PDA have been extremely helpful; McCarthy knew all the Portland bishops from Bacon to Walsh. Many of Healy's diaries, including his first which covers his senior year at Holy Cross College, and some other documents are in the Dinand Library, Holy Cross College.

VII. *Some Maine Converts.*

The sources of information on these five persons are scarce and scattered. What have been discovered are here listed for each one.

HENRY C. B. GREENE

The Greene-Taylor correspondence in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* III (1890) is the best source on Greene's conversion. One will find references to him in Robert H. Lord *et al., History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, and William Byrne *et al., History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston, 1899), I.

JOSUE MARIA YOUNG

The best sketches in print are Richard J. Purcell, "Young, Josue Maria," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX (1936), 632, and Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1872), II, 514-28. Added information will be found in Francis X. Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States,* 1784-1898. (Milwaukee, 1898); Donald C. Shearer, *Pontificia Americana* (Washington, D. C., 1933); A. A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny from Its Establishment to the Present Time* (New York, 1880), and Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1892), IV, 424-27, Diocese of Erie.

MARY AGNES TINCKER

The best appreciation of Tincker has been written by John Talbot Smith, "Mary Agnes Tincker," *Ave Maria*, 69 (July 31, 1909), 142-48. Harry Shaw, Jr., did not consult this study in his biographical sketch of Tincker in the *D.A.B.*, XVIII (1936), 560. There are chapters on Tincker and Angelique DeLande in *Literary Convert Women* (Manchester, N. H., 1928), by Annette S. Driscoll. Excerpts from contemporary reviews of Tincker's novels will be found in *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1891), II, 1439-40. A study of *The House of Yorke* as a source on John Bapst, S.J., will be found in the author's "*The House of Yorke,* A Forgotten Source on John Bapst, S.J.," *The Historical Bulletin* (January, 1956), 67-74.

JOHN J. A'BECKET

Biographical data will be found in the *American Catholic Who's Who* (1911) and *The Catholic Encyclopedia and Its Makers* (1917). The article on him by Cleveland Moffet in "Authentic Sketches of Living Catholic Authors," *Catholic World*, 64 (January, 1897), 562-64, is good and, since sources on A'Becket are scant, valuable. Elizabeth Jordan adds important information and a warm appreciation of him in her autobiography, *Three Rousing Cheers*. The *Readers' Guide to Nineteenth Century Periodical Literature* lists his writings during the 1890's.

CHARLES EUGENE WOODMAN

Information on Woodman is very scarce. Biographical data will be found in *ACWW* (1911), and an appreciation of him by one who knew him in "Father Woodman — A Tribute," *Catholic World*, 120 (January 1925), 514-18, by Henry E. O'Keefe, C.S.P. His writings are listed in the *Guide to Catholic Literature, 1888-1940*. The diaries of Charles McCarthy, Jr., mentioned in the sketch of Woodman are in the Archives of the Diocese of Portland, Maine.

VIII. *A Period of Expansion: 1900-1924*

As indicated in the section, the literature on Portland's third bishop, William O'Connell, is fortunately ample. The *MCHM* is the best printed source on Walsh, but his correspondence and journals in the PDA are rich in information on the man and his work.

IX. *The Last Quarter of the First Century.*

With the exception of the newspapers there are no important printed sources on Murray and McCarthy. The files of *The Church World*, the diocesan weekly, record the events of the diocese since 1930. Personal interviews with those who worked and lived with both bishops have been valuable in writing this chapter.

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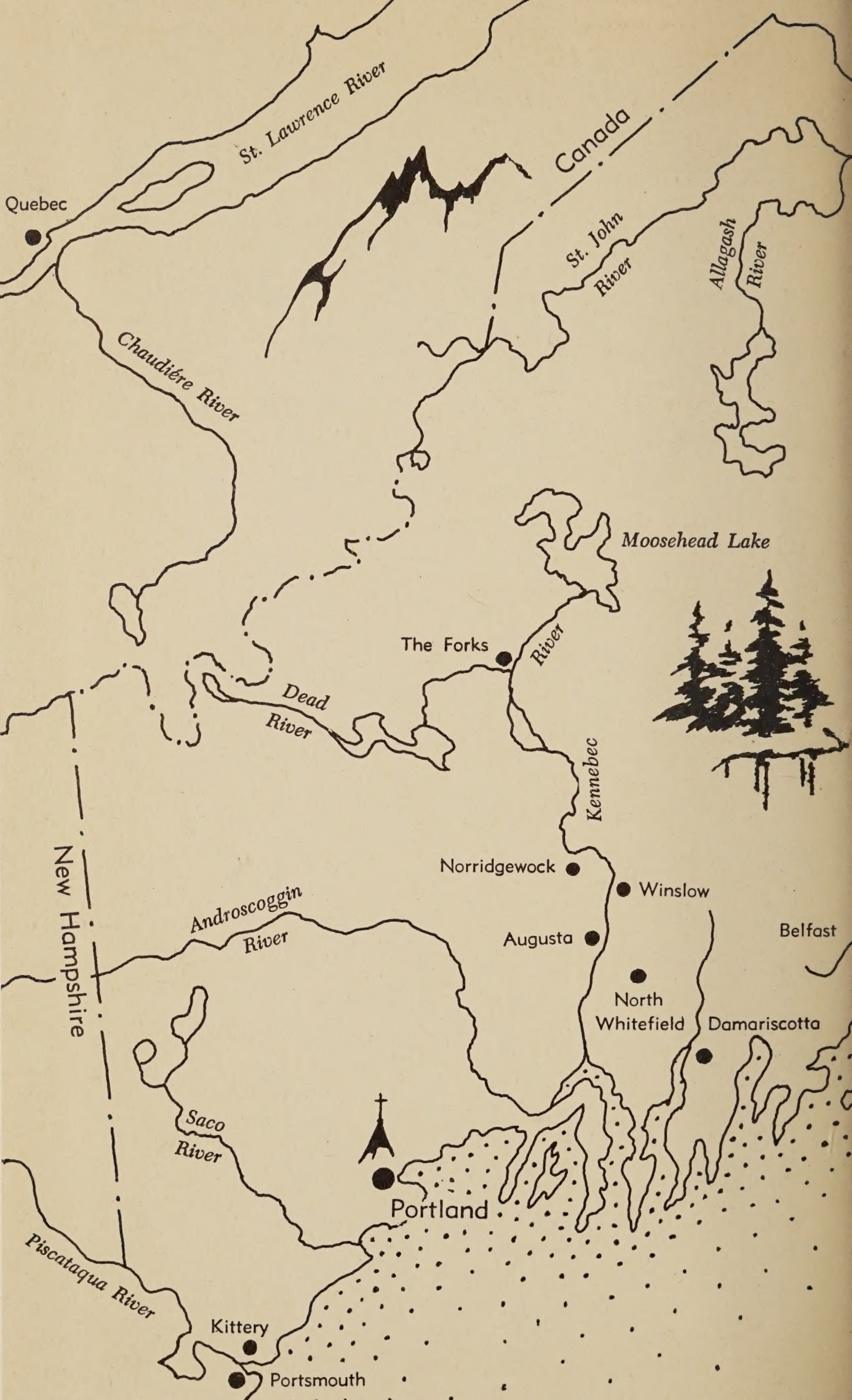
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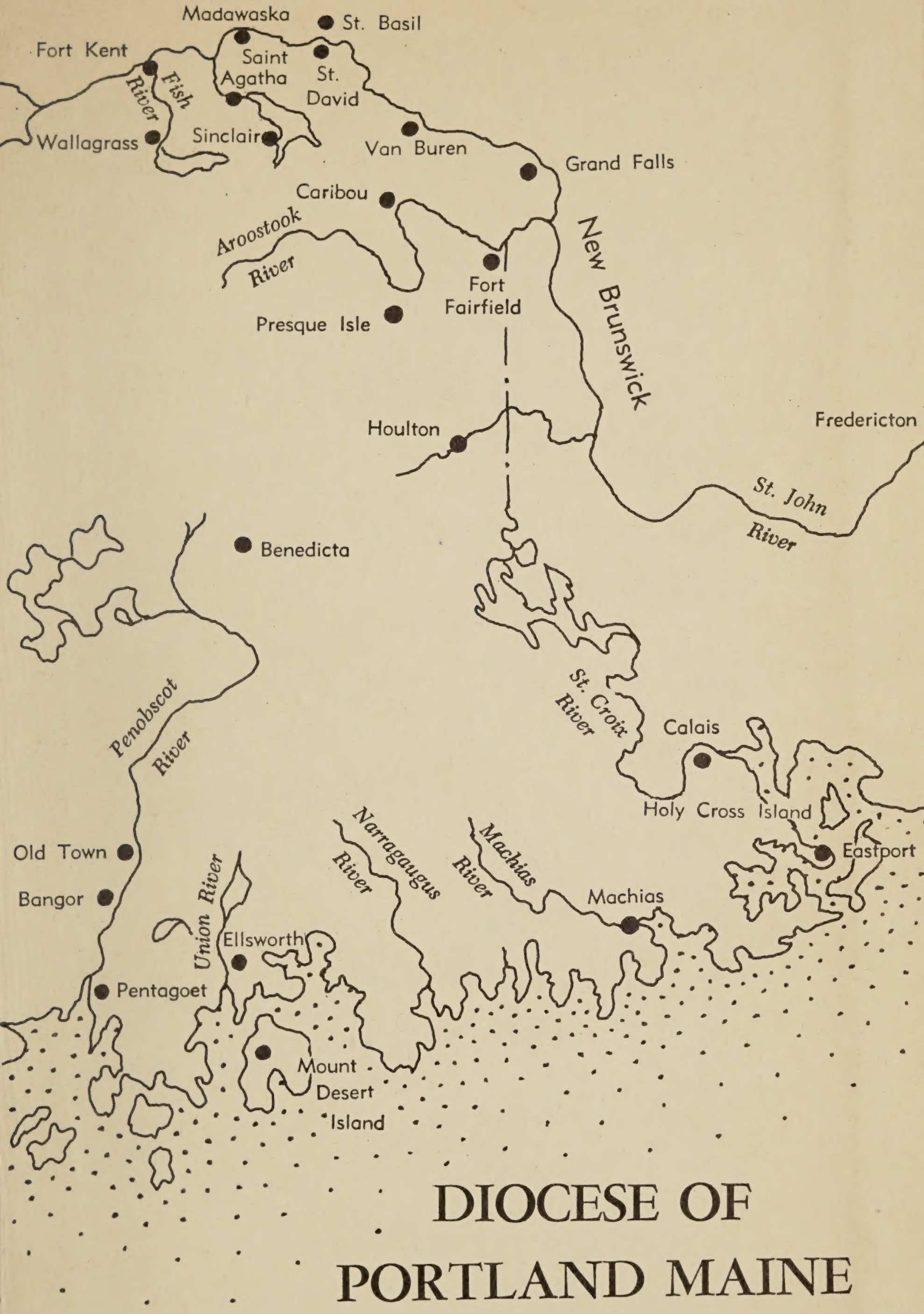

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Madawaska
St. Basil
Fort Kent
Saint Agatha
St. David
Fish River
Wallagrass
Sinclair
Van Buren
Grand Falls
Caribou
Aroostook River
Fort Fairfield
Presque Isle
New Brunswick
Houlton
Fredericton
St. John River
Benedicta
Penobscot River
St. Croix River
Calais
Holy Cross Island
Eastport
Narraguagus River
Machias River
Machias
Old Town
Bangor
Union River
Ellsworth
Pentagoet
Mount Desert Island

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